Fraternities protest College control

By CHRIS CIOFFI

Fraternities were the primary topic of discussion at the Community Council meeting of Friday, September 28. A large group of students attended the open meeting in Proctor Lounge at 2 pm, anticipating a clarification of the College's position regarding the fraternity system at Middlebury.

Co-chairman Andy Reding opened the meeting and quickly dispensed with the Council's less controversial business. Last week's minutes were approved; Walter Sczudlo was authorized as an MCAB appointment; and next week's agenda was arranged to include a discussion of Oral Interpretation at Middlebury, pending more specific information.

To introduce the subject of fraternities, Dean O'Brien gave a brief summary of the College's position. He referred to the President's letter of July 5, 1973, and to a recent document entitled "Outline of Fraternity Discussion" which contained the most recent opinions of the administration.

Dean O'Brien made it immediately apparent that according to the administration, fraternities are no longer a viable social system at Middlebury College. "Fraternities, as selective organizations controlling major living and eating facilities . . . will not continue to exist."

Indeed, the College is "determined to have a new system." The purpose of Friday's meeting was to garner ideas and suggestions as to how Middlebury's present fraternity houses might be reorganized under College ownership to best serve the general College community.

Dean O'Brien made it clear that the College will no longer support a "selective social system," as he purported the present fraternity system to be. If the College cannot evolve a new social system of small group living, it will simply end food and room rebates for those desiring to eat and/or live in frat houses.

When asked by Alan Levy, a student member of the Community Council, whether or not the College was prepared to go to court over this issue, Dean O'Brien responded with an unhesitating "yes."

The decision to close fraternities, which was ultimately made by the trustees on

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photo by randy houser

Dean O'Brien—the "open" fraternity?

Special Committee defends Report

By BARBARA KRITCHEVSKY

An open discussion of the Report of the Special Committee on the College took place on Wednesday, September 26, in Proctor Lounge. The meeting gave students the opportunity to ask questions about the report, and to discuss it with members of the Committee.

Only three members of the Committee were present. They were Mr. Bruce Peterson (Mathematics), chairman of the committee; Mr. Robert Hill (English); and Mr. Nicholas Clifford (History).

Student questioning brought out several ideas about the program. Mr. Clifford stated that this proposal in no way means the present curriculum has failed, but only that this proposal is better. The college has no educational philosophy at present, Clifford said. He felt that if the new system were instituted, attempting to educate each student in two 'modes of thought', such a philosophy would develop.

Mr. Clifford suggested that the new proposal would also serve to differentiate Middlebury from other small liberal arts colleges.

Students voiced a great deal of concern about what would happen if a "crush"

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the MIDDLEBURY CAMPUS

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Kirkpatrick Sale on Watergate

By ERIC HIMMEL

Regional power struggles have always played an essential role in American politics. The Civil War set the stage for the rise of a big business aristocracy built on heavy industry, transportation, and oil, based in the Northeast where New York City has long been the financial capital of the country.

This group of industrialists, and the banks, law firms, corporations, foundations, and universities they have spawned and funded, have consistently supplied Washington, and especially the executive brach, with talent. They have long been the beneficiaries of favors which accrued from the implementation of their own policies.

Until Nixon appointed Elliot Richardson Attorney General in the shambles of Watergate (the appointment itself being a concession to established power), Henry Kissinger, of Harvard roots with the connections with Rockefeller's, was the last remaining representative in the highest echelons of power of an establishment which had a firm grip on the Kennedy Administration just a decade earlier.

Kirkpatrick Sale

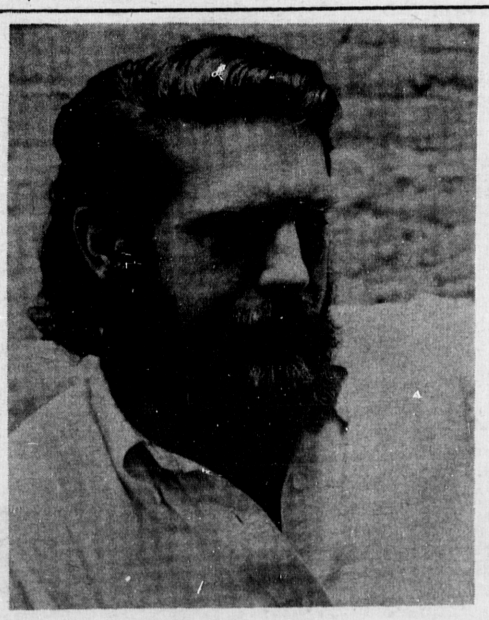

Photo: Bernard Cole

Despite Nixon's own broadcasting of his Southern Strategy, and the remarkably uniform background of his appointees, the idea that the center of gravity of America's corporate elite has shifted has not gained broad acceptance outside the Left. Such a theory indirectly challenges the cherished popular assumption that no one group (or class) has a monopoly on policy-making in this country.

But there is much evidence that a new and extremely powerful corporate establishment, and all of the legal, financial, and political services needed to sustain it, has arisen in the South and South-West of the United States since World War Two.

This new establishment is supported on a base of expanding population and rapid urbanization and industrialization. It is built on the oil, aerospace, and defense industries — all of which, it should be noted, are industries especially dependent on Washington for contracts, tax-breaks, and subsidies. It has supplied the Nixon administration with most of its appointees to high positions, and with most of the money that made it possible for Nixon to get elected.

The World Behind Watergate

Kirkpatrick Sale, author of the book **SDS** and currently at work on a book about Watergate, argued here in a lecture called "The World Behind Watergate" Monday, September 24, that this new establishment is responsible for the series of events popularly known as the Watergate scandal.

He said that far from our having been saved by "the system" which has moved to expose the instigators and to bring the guilty to justice, Watergate is the system we'll all have to live with until the new money learns the subtleties of wielding power in its own behalf.

Sale, in an important article in the **New York Review of Books** of May 3, 1973, labeled this region of the fifteen southernmost states bounded by Florida and California the "SouthernRim," and he borrowed from Carl Oglesby the name "cowboys" for the owners and agents of the new money.

Sale designates not only the self-made men, the lawyers, bankers, and politicians, as sharers of this wealth and power. He includes right-wing labor leaders, such as Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters, who met with representatives of organized crime at the swank San Diego development called La Costa on the same day that Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Dean met there in a meeting last February to sort out the Watergate coverup.

Fitzsimmons was there allegedly to arrange the investment of those always-handy Teamster Union pension funds in Las Vegas hotels.

Lest this seem too much an imputation of guilt by association, it should be noted that later that day, Fitzsimmons wandered up to San Clemente to hitch a ride back to Washington with Nixon. Presumably they didn't discuss the view out of the window of Air Force One. ("C. Arnholt Smith and the San Diego Connection", Lowell Bergman and Maxwell Robach, **Ramparts**, Oct. 1973, p. 53.)

The picture is rounded out by the syndicates that feed off the easy money: Lansky's gang in Miami, "Big John" Alessio's organization in San Diego, and so forth.

Alessio, by the way, had his feet in both worlds. A close business associate of Nixon's West Coast buddy, C. Arnholt Smith, he was sent to prison in 1970 for neglecting to report $1.2 million to the IRS when Jack Culfield couldn't pressure the agent on the case to drop it. Smith himself was hit for $22.8 million unpaid on his 1969 income just last August and is now in legal trouble. (**Ramparts**, ibid., pp. 34-35.)

Sale reports that Nixon was able to quash a similar FBI investigation of Bebe Rebozo's connections with the Lansky gang in Miami this year. Cynics and skeptics should note that his source was the front page of the **New York Times**.

Rimsters Inside Government

Perhaps the most convincing demonstration that there has been a shift in the social and economic base of nation — that is, executive — power is simply the preponderance of representatives of the Southern Rim in Nixon's administration.

Before the Watergate shuffles, three out of the four

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League of Women Voters discusses land use

The treatment of agricultural land, a consideration of growing importance in land use planning on national, state, and local levels, was the topic dealt with at the fall membership meeting of the Middlebury League of Women Voters, Sept. 27, at Ilsley Library.

Speakers at the meeting were Margaret Garland, a member of the State Environmental Board and president of the Vermont League of Women Voters; Lucien Paquette, Addison County Extension Agent; and Armand Beliveau, of the Agency of Development and Community Affairs, and author of a new development rights plan.

Mrs. Garland emphasized that what is needed is "an overall approach to the problem which is equitable to all." She spoke primarily about the proposed Vermont land use plan, which will be presented at the next session of the Vermont Legislature.

Mr. Paquette claimed that part of the problem is that farmers have developed an efficiency method "far superior" to those of other industries. This means that more people are released from farming and able to go into other trades.

Mr. Beliveau stated the problem as merely: "What to do about growth?" He asked everyone to visualize Middlebury with triple its population, and "designed for profit," without regard for the comfort or well-being of the inhabitants. Then visualize Middlebury with triple its population, but "designed for people." - "There's a big difference," Mr. Beliveau said.

Mr. Beliveau then explained the development rights transfer concept. If a developer buys land outside town, intending to develop it, the town officials can talk to him and try to convince him to develop in town. They will then trade land in town for the land outside. One detail is that in town, development may be as high as six units per acre, while outside, it could be two acres per unit.

Thus, if the town traded land with the developer, and gave him enough to develop the same number of units as planned, it would be at a 12:1 ratio (120 acres outside for 10 in town, for example).

The town would then own the outside land and could sell it, but would put a restrictive covenant into the deed saying that the land could not be subdivided or developed. Thus the buyer would pay non-developmental prices and tax rates.

If the original owner of the land is a farmer, once the town has bought the land, he may be allowed to continue farming there, while paying tax rates based on agricultural value and not developmental value, since the land cannot be developed.

A second alternative is that the developer can keep his land and buy the town land, but in order to do so, he must insert a restrictive covenant into the deed of the outside land stating that it may not be subdivided or developed.

"Why should developers go along?" Mr. Beliveau asked. In the first place, town officials can negotiate with them — "make them an offer they can't refuse" — since the developer can make a greater profit on town property.

In the second place, the town would, in a way, be acting as the developer — doing all the paperwork, etc. — and the the developer would then be considered as a contractor. This means less trouble and expense for the developer.

Thirdly, the town would be, in essence, bearing the front end money — in other words, the costs of leading water pipes, sewerage systems, etc., to the land — while the developer normally would be.

In the fourth place, the developer would have a guaranteed neighborhood —— he would know in exactly what type of area he was developing.

And lastly, the developer would not have to work against the townspeople, but would instead be working with them, on a friendly basis.

Educational Council discusses 500 projects

By RICK ELDRIDGE

The meeting of the Educational Council on Monday, Sept. 24, was devoted almost exclusively to an extensive discussion of the current nature of "500" projects and the place that any new independent course structure would have within the curriculum as a whole.

Dissatisfaction with the present system of "500" courses was voiced by both students and faculty.

The students complained that independent projects were discouraged by an excess of bureaucratic red tape. They saw a clear need for independent projects in the limited curriculum of a small college.

Faculty members expressed a concern for the amount of time independent projects demanded of them. They felt that independent projects detracted from the amount of time they could spend on scheduled courses.

The Council agreed that student desire for more "500" courses could be divided into 3 major areas. These were: 1) the opportunity to do advanced focused work in one's major field of interest; 2) individual exploratory projects of a personal nature without previous preparation in the field (i.e. a parapsychology proposal from an English major); and 3) explicit academic supplementation due to gaps in the curriculum within certain departments.

It was felt that the first and third areas constituted valid desires on the part of the students. "500" projects as currently defined are explicitly designed to deal with the first situation.

In an effort to deal with the need for curriculum supplementation without placing a massive new burden on the faculty, Dean O'Brien proposed the formation of reading courses on topics of special interest to a number of students.

A proposal such as this would enable students to evaluate each other's work, and thus reduce the amount of time a faculty sponsor would need to devote to the course. It would also allow faculty members to devote their time to a larger number of students than they could to a collection of scattered independents.

The proposal was favorably received and led to a discussion of the type of credit that would be given for such a course. It was decided to table any specific proposals pending further discussion and the outcome of the Committee on the College Report.

Items remaining on the agenda include contractual course requirements (undertaking a specific amount of work for a specific grade), the Physical Education requirement, and students teaching college courses.

Isaac Asimov asked to speak

By ALAN LEVY

President Armstrong has formally invited Boston University professor Isaac Asimov to deliver the 1974 Commencement Address and to receive an honorary degree.

As a result of the recent senior poll, the other top choices include Margaret Mead, Ralph Waldo Ellison, Frances Fitzgerald and Bruce Catton.

Last week, seniors received a ballot and information sheet containing the names and biographical sketches of the twenty-one people nominated by the Commencement Speaker Committee.

Of the 440 seniors in the class of '74, only 155 voted, or about 33%.

The final selection of speakers is determined by a weighted preference system. Each senior is asked to number five speakers in order of preference. The first choice is given five points, the second choice four, and so on.

The speaker with the most points becomes the first speaker to be invited. If that person declines the invitation, the speakers remaining are invited in order until one accepts.

At the end of the last academic year, the Student Forum elected five members of the Class of 1974 to serve on the Commencement Speaker Committee. Three faculty members and two staff-administration members were appointed.

The Committee included seniors Nathaniel Forbes, Martha Hewitt, Daniel Somers, Annette Welsh, and Alan Levy; Michael Greenwood (Biology), Vincent Malmstrom (Geography), and Victor Nuovo (Religion); Dennis O'Brien, Dean of the College, and Fred Neuberger, Director of Admissions.

In May of 1973, seniors were given open-ended ballots to list any potential choices for commencement speaker. That ballot produced over 300 names, with approximately ten speakers mentioned on multiple ballots.

Daniel Ellsberg, then on trial in the Pentagon Papers case, was the name most frequently mentioned, with 29 votes.

The Commencement Speaker Committee drew up a list of some 25 names from this list. Members of the Committee then met with the Honorary Degree Committee of the Trustees to give final approval to the list. The approved names were those listed on the ballot seniors received last week.

Isaac Asimov, 53, was born in Russia. He is a professor of biochemistry at Boston University and an author of science fiction and popular explanations of science. He is the author of over one hundred volumes on such subjects, and the recipient of numerous awards.

The top ten names, in order of final preference, were: **Margaret Mead**, anthropologist; **Ralph Waldo Ellison**, novelist, author of **The Invisible Man**; **Frances Fitzgerald**, author of Pulitzer Prize winning **The Fire in the Lake**, a study on Viet Nam; **Bruce Catton**, Civil War historian; **Carl Sagan**, Cornell astrophysicist and Nobel Laureate; **Anais Nin**, author and dancer; **Katherine Graham**, President of the **Washington Post**; **Kingman Brewster**, President of Yale University; and **Pauline Kael**, movie reviewer for the New Yorker magazine.

Coffeehouse to perk

By SETH STEINZOR

I don't remember what the particular record was, but we were high enough to be dancing to it. It was around the end of last year at a very large, very maudlin, and completely sozzled party out in the SDU's, and several of us were moved to revive our precious hippie heritage by standing around outside and dancing with the lampposts.

Somebody finally changed the record and put on some undanceable slosh, so we sat down and were nostalgic for a while, until Eve (I think it was Eve) said that it would be pretty intense to have a coffeehouse at Middlebury, or words to that effect, and after a while I realized she was serious and started jumping up and down, for such, dear reader, had always been my secretly cherished ambition, to grow a goatee and purvey espresso.

Some months later, after much running around from office to office, the idea has expanded beyond just Eve and Seth drunk out at the SDU's into concrete reality, with many people and possibilities involved. All this under the benevolent sponsorship of MCAB.

We're planning on opening Monday, October 8, in the Gamut Room down in Gifford basement. The Gamut Room has a long and spotty history, and nobody seems to know where it is, which adds immeasurably to the mystery and romance of setting up shop there.

We'll be open Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays from ten p.m. until two, and we'll have chess, backgammon, ten cent coffee and tea, and (we hope) continuous free live entertainment. For which we need your help.

If you do absolutely anything worth doing in front of other people (no snickering in the back, please), let us know about it in either box 3337 or 3286, that's Eve or myself.

Hopefully, there'll be at least one night a week when just anybody can show up for a freeform jam, but we haven't decided when. We'll have posters and such to let you know about scheduled things.

the middlebury campus

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McCullough speaks on Brooklyn Bridge

By PASCAL CHENG

David McCullough gave the 7th annual, Charles S. Grant Memorial Lecture last Thursday night in Dana Auditorium. The subject of his lecture was the building of the Brooklyn Bridge in New York, entitled "The Great Bridge."

Mr. McCullough emphasized the importance of the Brooklyn Bridge as a social phenomenon in American history. He said that not only was the bridge a monumental architectural achievement of its time, but it was also a great symbol of the society which built it.

Mr. McCullough commented that the bridge was built during a "vital, dynamic period in American history," which saw great advances in technology, and as a result in the American way of life.

The bridge itself reflected this age of rapid technological progress in the complexity, boldness, and ingenuity of its design.

The bridge was built during a time of tremendous urban growth in America. Brooklyn, which at the time was a city in itself, was a striking example of this trend.

The bridge was, in an historical sense, a tribute to the rise of the American city. For the people of Brooklyn, it represented their advancement as a great urban community. It became "a popular symbol of urban America."

The bridge was also a "symbol of the Tweed scandal." New York and Brooklyn were dominated by corrupt politicians, the most infamous being the mayor of New York, Boss Tweed.

Tweed sought to make a "business" out of politics and the bridge came to be one of his more important "investments." It was during the construction of the bridge that Tweed fell from office as a result of his illegal activities.

The plan for the bridge originated in the mind of John Robling, a man whose engineering genius had already shown itself in the construction of suspension bridges over the Delaware, Allegheny and Ohio Rivers and over Niagara Falls.

Robling saw the need for a bridge connecting the city halls of New York and Brooklyn, which were separated by the East River.

The bridge presented a formidable task for its builders because its construction involved the use of engineering techniques which were being attempted for the first time. The construction of the bridge was a learning process for everyone involved in its planning and building.

The many problems that had to be solved along the way account for the long period of time which it took to build the bridge. The bridge was begun in 1869 and was not completed until 1883.

The bridge was costly not only in terms of time but also in terms of human labor and life. It was built literally by hand. The conditions under which the workers had to labor were often extremely unhealthy and hazardous.

The dangers of the work can be seen especially in the laying of the foundations for the two stone towers over which the suspension cables of the bridge now stretch.

The construction of these two towers was a remarkable engineering feat. Unfortunately, it was accomplished at the expense of the health of many workers.

As a result of working long hours inside the foundations of the towers, which were submerged some forty to seventy feet below the surface of the river, hundreds suffered from the 'bends' when they came up. Hitherto an unknown condition, the bends crippled many.

It was not surprising, then, that there was a high turn-over rate in the labor force.

John Robling himself became a victim of the dangers of his own enterprise. He was killed while working on the initial stages of the construction. His son, Washington Robling, took over the work and successfully completed the project.

Mr. McCullough attributed most of the credit for the Brooklyn Bridge to Washington Robling. Robling was a tremendously capable man who was able to overcome many formidable obstacles.

He was responsible for most of the actual work that was done. To a large extent, the bridge must be considered his creation.

Washington Robling too was injured severely while working on the bridge. His subsequent incapacitation, however, did not prevent him from supervising the completion of the bridge.

Mr. McCullough pointed out that even though Robling was an invalid, he was able to direct his wide range of talents in other fields. He was, for example, a noted botanist and paleontologist.

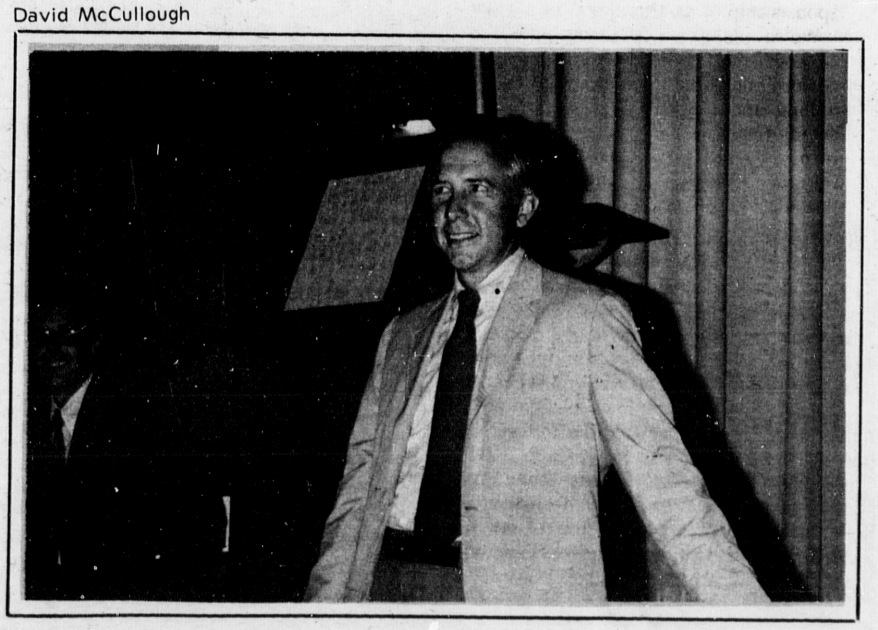
Mr. McCullough concluded his fascinating account by saying that "the bridge will probably last forever," because it was so soundly constructed.

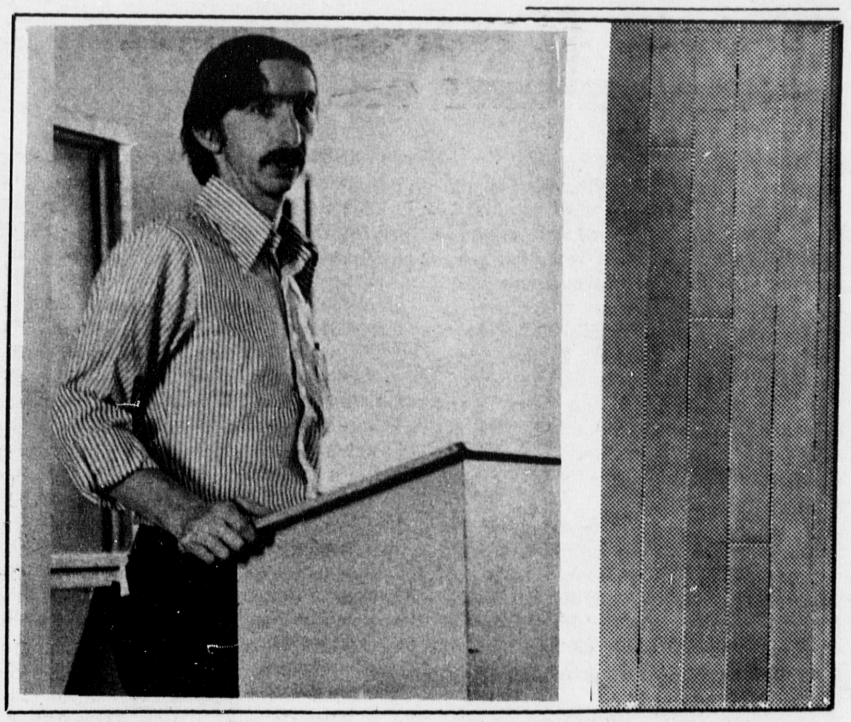
He called a trip across the bridge "one of the great walks in America," even though it no longer towers over the New York skyline as it did when it was first built.

He speculated that John Robling may have incorporated the Gothic form of architecture in the stone towers because he wanted to recall his European heritage.

Noting the use of steel in the bridge, Mr. McCullough also suggested that Robling may have envisioned the civilization of the future. The bridge, in fact, marked the beginnings of "modern high-rise New York," in the construction of which steel has been an important element.

David McCullough





Sander Kelman

Sander Kelman on health care

By LUCIA SOLORZANO

Sander Kelman, assistant professor of medical economics at Cornell, made several startling claims against the medical profession in a lecture on health care delivery on September 28.

Kelman cited the use of psychoactive drugs and psychosurgery as growing forms of medical care, especially in the mental health field.

Kelman noted that in the pharmaceutical industry, "one-half the revenue is by the produce and sale of psychoactive drugs, such as tranquilizers and anti-depressants."

Kelman questioned whether then need for a person to use a depressant or a stimulant is genetic, or stems from characteristics inherent in our society.

"With psychoactive drugs," Kelman noted, "health personnel don't need to deal with the cause of the problems."

Psychosurgery is used in dealing with problems of criminology. It is mainly funded by the National Institute of Mental Health under the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and by the Law Enforcement Association Administration in the Department of Justice, Kelman noted.

Kelman suggested why he felt many psychosurgeons work with patients from urban areas. They reason that "many live in these . . . impossible social conditions. But only hundreds or thousands suffer from them. Therefore, there must be something organically wrong with them."

It is then, Kelman said, that incisions are made in the frontal part of the brain, electrodes are positioned, and high voltage currents applied. Women and minorities are the usual recipients of such treatment.

Kelman reported that, Gov. Ronald Reagon of California secretly turned over the prison at Vacaville to surgeons for psychosurgical experimentation in criminology. The testing has since been revealed and is under legal investigation, Kelman added.

Kelman explained that social behavior and conditions must be studied in the context of the patient's identity and experience. Now, this context is subordinated to a larger economic developmental process. Consideration of identity and experience may even be eliminated, as in behavioral studies which use psychosurgery and drugs which are questionable in safety and effectiveness.

Kelman charged that most medical schools have no respect for the health care of the American people. "In the most elite medical schools, such as Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Cornell, and Johns Hopkins, every instructor would in training medical researchers, and not those interested in practicing medicine."

His information, he added, was gathered from talking with faculty members of such medical schools.

Many operations such as heart transplants and open heart surgery are conducted in order to develop new techniques and treatments, Kelman claimed.

He cited an example where a patient whose heart had stopped was allowed to lie on a table for 15 minutes in order that students might come and watch the operating procedures.

In connection with rising costs, Kelman spoke of hospital trustees who know little about medicine. The trustees depend on doctors to develop facilities in the hospital which they view to be important to the field of medicine.

The expenses for these facilities are financed by institutions such as Blue Cross, with whom hospitals negotiate regularly. These costs are passed on to Blue Cross premium payers, and eventually to the taxpayers. The costs therefore seem self-liquidating to members of the medical profession.

Among possible solutions for the problem of higher costs, Kelman presented the idea of prepaid group practice.

Health care is now given on a fee-for-service basis, Kelman explained. In prepaid group practice, a person would pay perhaps $200 to cover any medical care services he might need in a year. The fee would remain unchanged whether the services to a patient cost more or less than $200.

The incentive for hospitals would then become reversed, as they would try to minimize the care provided, eliminating unnecessary operations and becoming more efficient, Kelman explained.

Under the Nixon Administration, he noted, the Health Maintenance Organization has been formed to encourage the establishment of such medical services.

Training for this organization will not be completed in medical schools as we know them, Kelman explained. Area Health Education Centers, not yet presented for legislation, will be training institutes for all members of the medical profession: doctors, registered and practical nurses, etc.

The length of the training period will be shortened, Kelman added, to involve five years after high school for doctors, and three years for clinical trainees.

Financing will be provided by programs such as Blue Cross and Medicaid, and through income tax revenue.

Black freshman orientation

By MILDRED REESE '74

This year, the first class to attend Black Freshman Orientation will graduate, seven of the ten students who attended in 1970 are still here. This retention percentage is a definite improvement over the class the year before in which twelve of the fifteen black freshmen flunked out.

Attendance at orientation has also improved; twenty-four students attended this year. This improvement is due to an increased number of blacks in the freshman class and to a greater response by these students to the invitation to the program.

Many things have improved since the first orientation in the summer of 1970. I can say this with confidence because I have been present at all of the orientations since then. The improvements need not be enumerated here, but those things that have remained stagnant should be brought out.

After four years, orientation is still treated like an experiment. Granted, the program must be flexible in order to be adapted to the interests and needs of the particular class. But each year the number and type of courses differ more because of the number of available instructors than because of the interests of the students.

Although the administration is unquestionably interested in the program, there is a definite lack of total school interest and commitment to it, especially in the faculty.

Each year an English course in writing is given. This course is necessary and does a very good job of preparing the students for the writing load that he will face here.

In 1970, the course was taught by Dale Deletis and Tim Carey. For the last three years, Dean Carey has taught it alone. There is nothing wrong with the course as it stands now, but it does place extra demands on Dean Carey at a time when there is a lot of extra work around the Dean's Office as well.

The program tries to give the students an overall example of what college will be like by offering four courses that include at least one lecture course and one seminar course.

In 1971 and 1972, the director of the program taught a course. The director did not teach a course this year because it was decided that the teaching duties detracted too much time and energy from the directing duties. As a result, there were only three courses offered this year. These were taught by Dean McKinney, Dean Carey and Dean O'Brien.

To be sure, there was nothing wrong with the courses offered by these men, but two points remain: 1) there was only so much time that each of these men could devote to orientation since it was a very busy time in the Dean's Office; and 2) there was a certain feeling of resentment on the part of the students as they felt that the administration was improvising courses for them due to a lack of time.

It should be said here that in the 1970 and 1971 programs, some faculty members did offer to teach courses. But these courses met twice a week, and one year they only met twice in the entire two and a half weeks.

Most of the students felt that these courses were not worth the little time that the professors were willing to put into them because they did not meet often enough to really learn anything in depth.

I realize that the faculty operates on a ten-month schedule. However, most of the professors are back from their vacations by the last two weeks of summer. If none are willing to volunteer their time, perhaps the College should consider increasing the minority-poverty budget which finances orientation to include money for the hiring of faculty for the program.

By THOMAS MCNEILL '74
ORIENTATION DIRECTOR

"Black Freshman Orientation serves both an academic and a social purpose. Both aspects are equally important because of the bearing they have on the black students' achievement at Middlebury College.

The black student who decides to come to Middlebury places himself in a unique situation. He often finds that he does not fit into the college environment which he has chosen. For the black student there is no sense of community on a predominantly white campus, particularly one like Middlebury's which is, in addition to being white,very isolated.

Because the black student cannot identify with the community at large, he is faced with an added handicap which can only enlarge the common problems, such as homesickness, that all freshmen encounter.

If black freshmen were not given a chance to meet one another before the academic semester began, there would be a definite possibility that they would spend much of their first semester seeking each other out and therefore ignoring both the white students and their studies.

The orientation program promotes a sense of community and identification among black freshmen. Although it does not create a real black community in the context of the larger society, it does provide some sense of security for the incoming black freshmen.

The program serves as a basis for social fulfillment during the regular college year which is not necessarily limited to the black community. Once the black student has adapted to the social situation at Middlebury, he can devote more of his time and concentration to academics.

Contrary to popular belief, black orientation is not for "catching the blacks up with the whites" academically. It is to prepare the black student who has had a limited type of ed cational opportunity for the future shock of competing with a white student who has had a high level education.

This high level education often includes prep school training, foreign travel, fine art activities, well- equipped classrooms, and an educationally-oriented homelife.

Orientation enables the black student to prime himself for the new educational experience he will have to face. He is best able to compete with white students if he is made aware of what to expect.

Because of the social value of orientation, and because there is no reason that one would not benefit from its academic aspects, all black freshmen are urged to attend orientation regardless of their educational background.

By MELVIN WHITE '76

The Black Orientation Program of 1972 was an educational experience which should be had by every Black Student who is accepted to Middlebury College.

Orientation started August 15th and it consisted of eight Brothers (males) and eight Sisters(females). The incoming Black freshmen were greeted by Mildred Reese (director of orientation) and Tom McNeill.

We were shown our rooms, which were in Starr Hall. Our first encounters with each other were awkward and had a touch of child-like shyness; but only the first meeting. Our friendships and antagonisms grew quite rapidly. By the end of the program we were like one big family.

Orientation itself was geared to prepare us for the trials and tribulations of college life. Classes included Poetry, History, English, and Psychology.

No sooner had we gotten settled, classes began. I was scared to death because of all the work which was bestowed upon us. The overall view of the work was that it couldn't be finished in the time period allowed us.

Whether or not the work was highly impossible for us to do did not seem to concern the instructors (Arnold McKinney, Tim Carey, Mildred Reese, and Gary Margolis). I had a feeling that they were trying to see how serious we took our work.

For the most part, the majority of us viewed our work as seriously as if our lives depended upon satisfactory completion of the program. Some days lasted until 4:00 a.m., which didn't seem to be long enough. By 9:00 a.m. when our first class began, eyes were drooping, swollen, and red.

Ironically enough, we enjoyed every minute of it. Besides working, we went to Montreal, went horse-back riding, and most of all we PARTIED HARDY!

By DEBBIE THOMAS '75

Black orientation was a very positive step toward preparing the black students that attended for the academic and social problems at Middlebury. Although there were a few problems that existed, as results of orientation, the overall results were very positive.

Academically, orientation was almost a necessity for the black students who attended the three-week session. We were given the advantage of experiencing the types of lectures, discussions, papers and exams that would be required during our four years at Middlebury.

Because we were able to attend classes, and were required to complete the work for each course, any academic problems were easily brought out that might have not been discovered until two or three weeks into the first semester.

Each student became aware of his own weak points in relation to basic skills such as writing. In a sense, orientation guided each individual student toward the areas that he should concentrate his efforts on in order to prevent any long-range conflicts.

Socially, orientation was obviously an excellent method for our class to become familiarized with the campus activities. We were able to meet with many of the members of the faculty and actually begin to plan our first semester at Middlebury three weeks in advance.

Black orientation has traditionally also developed a very close binding friendship among the black freshmen.

The only area that should have been given more time and effort was writing skills and general research. This would have been more beneficial to us in the long run.

Black orientation, therefore, is a very constructive program for incoming black freshmen to Middlebury. It should not be optional, but instead mandatory for every black freshman.

By THERESA SCHJANG '76

I am in the class of '76, and Mildred Reese, Tom McNeill and Donna Peters were the students in charge of black freshman orientation the year that I attended it. The class was small, only sixteen students, and we all lived in Starr.

As a result of the efforts of the staff members to create a relaxed atmosphere where we could get to know each other intimately, and also due to the class' small size, we became a very close group.

We learned in an astonishingly small space of time to confide in and depend on each other, which, as far as I was aware, was one of the main functions of the orientation.

An equally important function was academic preparation for the fall semester. We attended four courses, each meeting at least three times a week, and each requiring the use of writing skills.

There was quite enough work to keep us busy. It especially seemed like a lot of work since there were so many other activities planned for us to do — trips, picnics, etc.

Of course some people took the work more seriously than others. Some of the girls became so obsessed with working that it caused a temporary depression, and discouragement about the fall semester.

Many of the girls enjoyed meeting together in one of their rooms to go over papers together before handing them in. The guys took this opportunity to say the girls were anti-social. It was all in fun. Even the many debates which took place were constructive, and often enjoyable.

After having recently spoken to several members of my class concerning our orientation, I have come to the conclusion that, taking everything into consideration, it was a success. We enjoyed and learned from it, both in the classroom and out.

I feel that those were three of the best weeks I have had since I arrived at Middlebury, and that they gave all of us a chance to come together as we most likely would not have been able to do otherwise when the regular fall semester began.

By SHEILA PERSON '77

As a student in the Freshman Orientation Program my views are as follows:

First there was a lot of pressure, e.g. trips you had to attend when you had two papers due the next day. At one point I felt like giving up because I saw no possible way to do what was expected of me. If this is what I will be faced with then it was a good experience, if it wasn't the orientation was a waste of time and emotions.

Secondly, I was very pleased that Tom McNeill, Edwin Woodson (Woody), and Terry Shang were the counselors of the program. I felt that they were a great help to me not only academic-wise, but socially also. Whenever I had the need to talk to someone a little older but on my level, I knew I could indulge in a conversation with any one of them.

Finally, the professors, Dean O'Brien, Dean Carey and especially Dean McKinney were very dedicated. There was not one time I felt that I could not talk to anyone of them about a paper of assignment. They were all fair with tests and assignments and they were understanding if you had a valid reason for a late paper.

I am very appreciative of the orientation program because it was a "crash" preparation for college.

UNSIGNED

I believe that our freshman orientation program was of great benefit to all who participated in it. It put us at a distinct advantage, compared to the position in which we would have found ourselves, had we not participated in it, or had the program not been available.

The orientation program served to familiarize us with our environment—academic and social—and to familiarize us with each other. all of this provided us with a preview of what to expect and what would be expected of us in the semesters that were ahead, and, most importantly, how to deal with it.

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fraternities...

continued from p. 1

recommendation of the administration, took many in the audience by surprise.

A large number of fraternity officers and members had come to the meeting prepared to defend their system with factual information. When presented with the edict that "the fraternity system at Middlebury College is ended," the reaction was one of shocked disbelief.

Curt Viebranz questioned Dean O'Brien as to whether or not any student opinion had been sought in reaching this decision, which, by its very nature, affects only students.

In reply, Dean O'Brien read a 1973 letter from student Scott Shorton, announcing his resignation as Interfraternity Council President. In the letter, Shorten recommends that the fraternity system be closely examined.

As a result of this student recommendation, Dean O'Brien said, a series of meetings occurred last year between fraternity presidents and the administration. The general feeling which resulted from the meetings was that students were dismayed at the College's non-supportive attitude toward fraternities.

On the basis of this nominal student-administration exchange, the trustees, in conjunction with the president, decided that because Middlebury College cannot actively support the fraternity system, said system must end.

Turning to the future, Dean O'Brien expressed the College's desire to see "open frats" — small group living and eating situations which are non-selective. He explained that the houses could operate in a way similar to the present fraternity system. The central difference is that the College will own the total facility, and thus provide capital for building maintenance and food.

Randy Houser asked whether or not Middlebury's fraternities have recourse to appeal this administrative edict to close their houses.

In a controlled display of professional rhetoric, Dean O'Brien made it clear that there was no room to appeal this decision within the structure of college government.

He saw, however, no reason why students might not meet with trustees to discuss fraternities.

Dean O'Brien pointed out that neither President Armstrong nor College administrators have the power to rescind this order to end the fraternity system at Middlebury. Such a reversal lies only within the scope of the trustees.

Caroline Donnan, class of 1975 and a non-fraternity member, expressed the desire to see the College assume an essentially laissez-faire attitude toward fraternities. "If the fraternities have merit for being here, it seems that they would survive on their own. And if they don't, then I think they should be allowed to end themselves."

Her statement was greeted with long, supportive applause. Dean O'Brien responded with more background information. Since 1966, he said, fraternities have been "marginally tolerated" by the College and have existed in a relationship of "benign neglect."

He felt that since the College is unable to support frats 100%, it is a "bad system."

Ms. Donnan suggested that although the administration may have "marginally tolerated" fraternities, there is a larger element of the College community that is more supportive of the fraternity system as it now exists.

Perhaps David Tatgenhorst, a voting student member of the Community Council, best summed up the frustration and futility which enveloped students at this particular meeting.

Interrupting some rather emotional discussion, he calmly interposed the following analogy: "Right now, Richard Nixon is in his office, and he's having a meeting with a bunch of people, and he's saying: 'Middlebury College is a selective organization, and I don't think within the next ten years they're going to be able to survive financially.'

"He's conniving with these people and he's saying: 'I'm going to take this college over.' But he's not going to give us any say in this at all; he's never going to let us argue with him whether Middlebury College is going to be private or public. He's going to come up to us and go BOOM!!!

"And he's going to say: 'Middlebury College, you're going to be taken over by the United States government.' "

For many students present, particularly non-frat members, it was the decision-making method of the "fait accompli," rather than the question of fraternities themselves, which proved most offensive.

This sentiment was articulated by Chris Graff: "Not just the (decision ending the) fraternity system . . . This has happened so many times. George Wishart, Joan Peters, the commencement speaker . . . these decisions have been made."

"Each time you have said it's been a breakdown in communications — this won't happen again. And it happens again."

"Now this Community Council can do nothing; this discussion is essentially pointless. This is not a proposal, it's a manifesto. The student government . . . they might as well not be sitting there."

Echoing this idea, Community Council member Nat Forbes moved that the Dean of the College formally invite trustees, fraternity representatives, Community Council and Student Forum members to meet and discuss the role of the trustees at this college.

This motion was unanimously passed. WRMC was asked to tape the discussion. A possible date of October 27 was suggested; however, details were not fixed.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:30 pm.

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To the Editor:

I am writing this letter as a personal response to the present fraternity issue that has been going on for a number of years, with its present peak resulting from "the letter" this summer, and the meeting of the Community Council on Friday, Sept. 28.

I could sit here all night and take President Armstrong's letter and Dean O'Brien's statement, and refute them bit by bit from my point of view, that of a member of Sig Ep who has eaten there for two years and lived there for one year and continues to do so now.

I'm not going to do that though, because I'm sure that Dean O'Brien could ramble on for twice as long restating his opinion, which I personally consider very irrational and unfair to the student body, especially those involved with fraternities.

Dean O'Brien stated at the Community Council meeting that he did not want to change everything about fraternities, just two things: selectivity and ownership. It is on these two points that I would like to enlighten you, and only these since they are what Dean O'Brien said were the issues.

The first issue is selectivity. The fraternity system as it is now set up, says that we go through freshman rush with the giving out of bids and the whole works. I myself don't know of any case where someone was specifically eliminated from receiving a bid, unless by mistake or lack of communication.

As it works now, we accept anyone who wants to "join", in reality sign some sort of social and/or eating contract. We are **constantly** looking for more people because we need the money to meet our budget, just as the college does.

We often pick up different people throughout the year who did not bother with rush, or changed their minds for some reason or another. From this group which is I stress, open to all, a room draw is used just like the college, on the basis of seniority.

The second issue is ownership. The college wants to take over the ownership of the houses, and integrate their financial aspects into the college finances. Their stated reason for this is that in the forseeable future, they say that the present fraternities will not be able to support themselves financially, especially in the case of a house needing a new furnace or new roof, etc.

They then point to the fact that three fraternities have folded in the past few years. Interest in fraternities was at a low a few years ago, at about the same time that many of the houses were recovering from the cost of installing sprinkler systems as required by the college, which I do agree is a definite safety need. The cost of this was quite great and the fraternities had to dig deep into their pockets to pay it, at a time when interest was down and the college wasn't exactly offering help.

At the present time, interest in fraternities is on a definite upswing and their financial situations are solvent. Our financial figures are open for investigation, and it can be seen easily that we are definitely in the black.

I can't see that these two issues, which Dean O'Brien said were the only issues, are in any rational way viable. We could continue to debate **these** two issues for weeks, and I certainly am not capable of debating with Dean O'Brien. Facts are facts, and if people would look at them instead of deciding on the basis of who is the best orator, then I feel things would be a lot different.

It seems to me that the college has only one issue on which to base their proposed changes, and that is the fact that they want ownership in order to gain control of the frats. That way they can tell them what to do, and will not have to worry about getting any trouble from the frats any more.

This does not appear to be a really valid reason. It is just a case of where the college wants control over something that may have gone against their grain a little at one time or another.

I personally would prefer to be under as little control of the college as possible. I have certainly gained more from living in, and participating in the operation of Sig Ep than I gained from living in my small-but-secure room in Hadley, or would gain by living in Jewett House, or in the lounge of Milliken.

There is a strong spirit that exists in fraternities that I strongly believe would be lost soon after a takeover by the college. I cannot prove that this will happen, but I can **feel** it and I know that this is felt by many, if not all of those involved with fraternities, those who know the situation. Maybe a lot of it is the fact that when an institution takes over something, such as the fraternities, the "personal aspect" of an independently owned and operated organization is lost.

The college wants the control of the frats, and I sure don't want to give it to them, and I know a lot of other people who feel the same way. I got the impression that Dean O'Brien didn't anticipate a great deal of concerned opposition, but from the showing at the meeting on Friday, I think that he found out otherwise.

I feel that we have a good number of alumni and students behind us, and I question whether the Board of Trustees was fully aware of both sides of the story when they made their deciding vote. I hope that support is shown from the alumni and students, and I think that it will be. I'm sure not going to give up without a fight.

Craig W. White, Jr.
Sig Ep

Letters to the editor

To the Editor:

The following is an excerpt from a letter written by the Alumni President of the Kappa Delta Rho Fraternity to all KDR Alumni Brothers.

I met with Dean O'Brien in his office the last week in August for about an hour. Dr. Armstrong was on vacation. After I expressed my extreme disappointment at the way the Middlebury Trustees and the President were handling this matter — namely, not consulting the fraternities before deciding to take them over — we discussed the letter and his position paper. Some of the main points were : If the College has extra students and there are empty rooms at fraternities they cannot assign the rooms — I pointed out that KDR had a non-KDR staying at the house last year, and that this was the type of problem that could easily be solved by working together. I asked how the College knew that we were in severe financial trouble — he said he was not talking about KDR. I stated that it had been my observation over the past years that the College had made no efferts to resolve problems, and in fact, had done many things that we interpreted as hindering the well being of fraternities — I named several specific actions of the College. The College has never asked me as president of the alumni to help them run fraternities. I suggested that before losing fraternities entirely, efforts should be made to make them work, and offered all cooperation on our part as owners of the house, and interested in that style of living which provides opportunities for young people to develop responsibility, self-discipline, leadership,etc. I asked for more details as to what the College would do with the house if we gave it to them — all I got was a lot of maybe this and maybe that. The one thing the College wants is CONTROL of those living in fraternities. I stated that the College was admitting that they were not accepting students who were capable of becoming responsible, self-reliant, self-governing people, and thereby admitting their own failure as a College. I also said that the young people I had met at the College, and I've met many, seemed very capable of running a fraternity, or cooperative, or sorority, or anything else one wishes to call it, and to deprive them of that opportunity is WRONG. I assured him that the traditional formal customs of fraternities had long ago disappeared from most of what KDR's do. He seemed to be unaware of the relationship of Alpha Chapter to Alpha Alumni, and the responsibilities of each for the house. Actually, many of the complaints about the fraternities that the college makes could very well be directed at the Alumni of the fraternity. I pointed out that fraternities throughout the country are coming back stronger than ever, and that a new administration might be in favor of that style of living — in fact, the students at Middlebury are trying all kinds of ways to get the college to let them live off-campus some of the time they are in attendance — maybe the college should be encouraging the establishment of live-in Sororities, Cooperatives, etc., as I read in the morning paper that Princeton has begun to implement at their University.

We both agreed that one of the big drawing cards of fraternities is the food — nothing wrong in keeping that part, but I could not get his assurance that the kitchens would even be kept. I told him that the students to whom I spoke were all in favor of keeping fraternities, and he told me that the students to whom he spoke were in favor of getting rid of them.

In summary, I told Dean O'Brien and I hope the President and the Trustees of the College through him, that it is not true that the number of students at KDR is dwindling. It is not true that we are in severe financial trouble. It is true that fraternity relationships with the college have not gone well — why not try to make them go well? It is not true that by owning and controlling the fraternities the College can provide a necessarily more constructive system for small group living and eating, as is suggested in President Armstrong's letter. After the hour with Dean O'Brien, he assured me as we left that the College would acquire the fraternities, and I assured him that it would not happen while the present trustees of Alpha remain in office.

To the Editor:

Vermont's increasing interest in environmental care remains a middle class concern, and continues to shaft the low-income people.

The Land Use and Capability Act and local zoning laws are among the most serious reflections of this as they affect low-income housing. A large percentage of low-income families own mobile homes, since they are usually the cheapest alternative.

However, the zoning and land use regulations have forced most towns to allow trailers only in trailer parks. Frequently, large required deposits prevent poor people from moving in, while large families and people of lower class life styles are refused outright. In those towns which do allow trailers on private plots, the price of the land is highly inflated.

Poor people residing in trailers on rented land sometimes find the land sold out from under their trailers. Or they may be given orders to modernize their sewage systems to comply with sanitation laws. No thought is given to how these families can meet the prohibitive costs. The fact that they have nowhere to go is not taken into account.

People are not even properly advised as to **how** to make the required adjustments on their homes. They are simply evicted, threatened with jail for the parents, and foster homes for the children.

OEO and its TAP water project (water and sewage system construction for low income homes) are the only resorts for people in this kind of trouble. In the past six months, they have been especially swamped with trailer evictions, needs for sewage and plumbing systems, people in homes unfit for winter weather, and people in need of housing altogether.

In the meantime, Act 250 is being modified to "benefit mainly the small developer or builder" with the assistance of "members of the real estate business" (**Valley News**, 9/25/73). The Farmers Home Administration continues to refuse loans to all people with less than a $9000 a year income. And the Vermont State Housing Authority continues to ignore the urgent need for low income housing.

In fact, there is no representative from Addison County and no low income representative from anywhere in Vermont on the board of the authority. OEO has aided 32 families in finding housing this year, but only one of these cases involved any effort by the Housing Authority.

I am not advocating that land use and sanitation regulations be totally abandoned. However, it is mandatory that they include provisions for low income residents. These people cannot be expected to meet all the financial and legal demands of environmental reform without help.

Until this is recognized and acted upon, Act 250 and zoning laws are little more than a subtle kind of oppression.

Peggy Hewes

To the Editor:

They huddled in the cool rain looking at the empty frat. It was silent and very different. Its barn board walls gone, waterbed frames removed, and its old dance hall living room sliced up like all the other lounges into a group of homogenous dorm rooms. The imaginative lofts were broken down, and their lumber stacked for future use at the service building. The old house was gone and its ghosts exorcised. They stared and the memories churned bittersweet.

"Those were good times we had," one said, "a way of life I won't forget."

His partner looked again at the vanished home and made a bitter analogy. "I once saw the Queen Mary leaving New York for Europe, all the drunk happy people throwing confetti... Now," he paused, "now she's permanently dry-docked somewhere in California, a night club."

"We sure made that house live," the first said.

"We saw it die," they thought. One spat, trying to expel the sour feeling.

"Remember the great parties, and the saunas and all those crazy bikes," the first spoke again, trying to relive the past.

"Of course I remember, that is why it is so bad. That's why it hurts, because it's gone. The house was an old horse that should have been put out to pasture, but they shot it out from under us.

"That rhetorical genius who had no idea of the simple, good life that independent brotherhood provided, stole it from us without giving us a chance.

"The fact that we loved our way of life made no impression on the technocrats. They paternalistically yanked out the spirit and spontaneity, and expected the drab pre-fab Old Chapel seal of approval to replace it It is not the same, it's not even close. The house is dead and they killed it."

They watched the rain as it slickened the roof and bubbled into the new gutters, then down the new rainspouts onto a freshly paved parking lot.

Randy Houser
Sig Ep

Letters ...

continued from p. 6

To the Editor:

Greg Dennis' article in the **Campus** last week attempted to explain the setbacks recently encountered by the cause of socialism in Chile and Sweden. My concern here is for his analysis of the situation in Chile which I believe he largely misunderstands and misinterprets.

He attributes most of the difficulties of the Allende administration, difficulties which culminated in the recent coup, to poor monetary policy and hostile economic intervention by the United States. However, I believe that a closer examination of what happened in Chile will indicate that the reasons for the tragedy go much deeper than this and relate to the fundamental policies of the Allende government.

Allende was elected with only a little over 36 percent of the popular vote. Almost two-thirds of the Chilean electorate voted against him. On the basis of this very limited mandate Allende undertook to radically rearrange the economic structure of Chile. He immediately ran into stiff resistance — resistance that was founded on far broader grounds than simply the government's monetary policy.

Allende attempted to introduce radical economic change within a democratic political framework without majority support and he could not make it work. The immediate result of this conflict was that the Chilean economy was sent into a tailspin.

Dennis assumes, in his article, that because the Chilean government had, in the past, undertaken certain moderate socialist reforms without much trouble the Chilean people could not have seriously objected to Allende's more radical program.

But this kind of reasoning is absurd and in direct conflict with the facts. No previous Chilean administration had ever embarked on anything even **remotely** as ambitious and radical as Allende's program and majoritarian resistance was accurately reflected in the Chilean Congress which refused to endorse it.

Municipal and Congressional elections which were held during Allende's administration confirmed his inability to garner majority support for his program.

Instead of moderating his policies in the face of this majoritarian resistance Allende attempted to impose socialism on Chile by executive fiat. Ignoring the Chilean Congress and taking an infinitely elastic view of executive power and of laws already on the books he embarked on an executive tour de force that makes Richard Nixon, even at his most arrogant, look like Calvin Coolidge.

In fact, much of the socialization was accomplished without even a facade of legality, but rather through violence and direct action on the part of Allende's supporters. This conflict rapidly led to the radical polarization of the Chilean people. The sense of political tolerance, of give-and-take and compromise that is needed to make any democracy work was destroyed and the country looked like it was heading for all-out civil war.

It was in this atmosphere that the Chilean military stepped in and overthrew the Allende government. They may well have thought that they simply had no other choice and I, for one, do not feel that I can simply condemn them out of hand for their action.

I am familiar enough with Allende's life to appreciate the fact that he never wanted the process of bringing socialism to Chile to become a remorseless revolutionary struggle — he was no Lenin.

He was a humane and idealistic man who was trapped by his unwillingness to compromise on issues he felt so sure were right and good and also by the imperatives of the tenuous political coalition he headed.

In the end, the central lesson to be drawn from the Chilean tragedy is that if democratic socialism is to succeed it must, indeed, be democratic. The people of a democracy can be led but they cannot be dragged along unwillingly without undercutting the democratic system itself.

Bob Veino

To the Editor:

Is there something inherent in the thinking of college administrators which requires dominance and control over every facet of college-oriented life?

This seems to be the motivation behind the recent College proposal to gain "ownership of (fraternity facilities." President Armstrong has said that "the heart of the matter has to do with changes which have occurred in student choices and attitudes." And he is right.

Recently fraternities have fallen upon hard times, and several have been forced to close. Increasingly students have been choosing College facilities over those offered by the fraternities. But at least they have had such a choice.

College ownership implies a diminution of options available to the student body. A fraternity is not simply a "student dining unit," and to make it such would unnecessarily eliminate a viable alternative.

If the College in sincerely interested in "creating new options for students in small group social and dining arrangements," then by all means it should implement new options, but without eliminating those which presently exist.

If the fraternity system is outdated, then it will disappear without any official opposition. And if it does not, then perhaps the administration should reconsider its position, and maybe even honestly attempt to assist the frats.

William Millman '72

To the Editor:

re: Lisa Demauro's article of Sept. 27

It is unfortunate that you missed out, apparently completely, on the fun and entertainment which took place in the Riggs-King tennis match.

In your inability to ever conceive of a humorous side to Women's Liberation, you are in danger of ignoring perhaps one of the healthiest aspects to any "very basic and terribly serious cause," that of being able to laugh at oneself (or the cause) and have others, perhaps previously apathetic, join in the humor.

What is so intrinsically damaging about exposing Women's Liberation to the same attempts at comedy and fun as other causes endure?

Is it not more damaging to be so serious about oneself and a cause that laughter and its redeeming relief and even insights are pushed aside?

And finally, do you think Billie-Jean King, the world's highest paid woman athlete and leading proponent for equal pay at tennis tournaments, and an avowed feminist of sorts, would undertake a match which threatened serious potential harm to the movement?

I think not.

From a lover of tennis, women, and fun, and probably in that order.

Andy Taylor

Review: Breakfast of Champions

Breakfast of Champions, Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., c. 1973, Delacorte Press, Inc.

By SYBIL BRIGHAM

The back flap of the book jacket dubs Kurt Vonnegut "one of the living masters of literature." And I believed it, as that little row of books imprinted BY KURT VONNEGUT on my shelf will attest.

Then, of course, even masters have days when they are more like apprentices. The birthday of **Breakfast of Champions** seems to have been one of those days for Master Vonnegut.

The plot — what there is of it — involves one Dwayne Hoover, a Pontiac dealer in Midland City, U.S.A., and one Kilgore Trout, a character whom Vonnegut fans will recognize from other Vonnegut novels. He is a science fiction writer whose work is mostly published under the guise of pornography.

Kilgore Trout comes to Midland City as a specially invited guest of the Midland City Festival of the Arts. Hoover, whose head is full of "bad chemicals" (which means he is on the verge of insanity) reads something in one of Trout's novels which reacts with his "bad chemicals," causing him to run amuck.

The plot however does not really seem to have much to do with the novel at all. The author is more concerned about himself and his relationship to the characters he has created.

Vonnegut writes himself into the novel midway: "This is a very bad book you're writing,' I said to myself . . . 'I know,' I said . . . There in the cocktail lounge peering out through my leaks at a world of my own invention, I mouthed the word: **schizophrenia.**"

This is the very same cocktail lounge where Dwayne Hoover is sitting and reading Trout's novel, and where he will soon run amuck.

Vonnegut sits fascinated in the middle of his creation contemplating the power he wields over the characters. After all, he may write them out of the cocktail lounge to some other point in the universe at any time.

But he does not, and as Vonnegut lingers over these thoughts, the characters continue playing out their parts in the plot, oblivious to their creator.

After Dwayne Hoover runs amuck, and while the novel is waiting to end, Vonnegut turns to his creation, Kilgore Trout, who has so faithfully accompanied him through his literary career.

In an act of egotistical benevolence, he sets Trout free: "Arise, Mr. Trout, you are free, you are free."

Trout, however, in meeting his creator, does not appreciate the gift he is receiving. He cries out to Vonnegut in the last line: "Make me young, make me young, make me young."

When your own character fails you in a failing novel, what can you do but make the ending a failure too. Vonnegut finishes his novel with a two inch ETC.

If watching a writer bathe in the irony of his God-like position will not attract you as a reader, let me say that Vonnegut has turned artist and has filled in the gaps in his novel with relevant little drawings.

I must add, though, that here and there little flickers of that biting Vonnegut wit are still burning, and there is hope should the fallen master try his hand at another . . . ETC.

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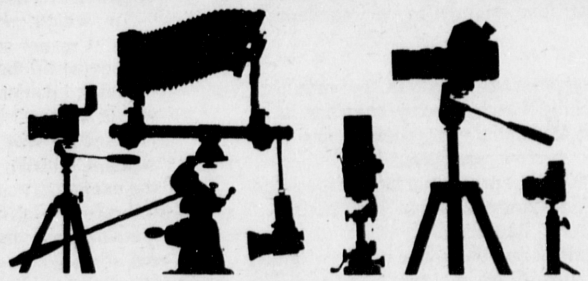

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editorial

administrative faits accomplis

Last Friday, the Community Council met to discuss the role and future of fraternities at Middlebury College. A large number of students, most of them either fraternity members or sympathizers, attended the meeting with the belief that their views might change the College's intent to take over the fraternities.

The student members of the Community Council were also under the impression that there was still a question as to whether or not the College should alter the fraternity system as it now exists. As both groups soon understood, the decision has already been made, and the College's position is not subject to change. Students have been presented with an administrative **fait accompli**: the fraternity system as it now exists will be changed.

Whether or not the fraternities should be taken over by the College is not the issue which we consider to be the most important here. It is the way in which the College made its decision which raises the most serious questions, as it affects all aspects of student life. The method of decision was typical, and is indicative of an attitude toward student opinion which is extremely hypocritical. We seem always to be presented with administrative **faits accomplis**. We are consulted for suggestions after the fact, and are never a decisive voice—that is, a voice with voting power—in the actual decision-making process.

In the fall of 1972, the Community Council was asked for a recommendation as to whether or not the College should lend the Federation Building on a temporary basis to the Juvenile Center. The student Council members were eager to discuss the larger issue of the College's general social responsibility, particularly in light of the Dental Clinic issue of the previous spring. But it soon became apparent that the College had already decided to let the Center use the Federation Building; worthy as the students felt the cause to be, they realized that they were making a recommendation to a President who had already decided his course.

Last spring, George Wishart, former purchasing agent for the College, and Joan Peters, an English instructor, were fired. In both instances there was substantial student and faculty opposition, which became particularly inflammatory in Ms. Peters' case. Although students are under no illusion that they have a powerful voice in hiring and firing practices, it was sickening to learn that even when faced with overwhelming opposition, the administration would not even consider a re-evaluation of its decisions.

And this year we have the Committee on the College. Last week's open meeting showed that many students are highly dissatisfied with the Special Committee's recommendations. Our student representative of the Committee has graduated, and the Report is to be voted on only by the faculty. Again, student input will be informal, and there is no reason why we should expect to be taken more seriously than usual.

The fraternity edict is the most recent example illustrating the administration's decision-making policy. Although we may in fact prefer a non-selective co-op living system to fraternities, we must sympathize with fraternity members. They are simply the recipients of the latest administrative **fait accompli**. They are also promising to be less docile about this manifesto than the rest of us were when we received ours.

s.h.

Rambling and Scrambling

By NATHANIEL FORBES

Shreds of Evidence

"I...really, it's crazy to speculate about facts."

You better believe it, Bruce Peterson. Any well-educated individual would be crazy to speculate about facts. A **group** of well-educated individuals would be even crazier to speculate about facts.

The Special Committee on the College, with the exception of Laura Reinertsen, is a group of well-educated PhD's. Two Harvard's, one Yale, a Princeton, and a Syracuse. Zowie! No speculators in that group!

The hell.

The Special Committee on the College devoted one year and a half of serious thought to the problem of the curriculum at Middlebury, among other matters. In fact, they devoted a good deal of their prodigious mental faculties to the subject of education at Middlebury College.

As a result of their efforts, they produced the Report. That is, THE Report.

Based on sheer speculation.

The college community is still waiting for the facts, in any form, upon which the Special Committee based its report.

Statistics are due to appear from the bowels of Voter Hall and Old Chapel this week, 23 months late.

Now, Professor Peterson announced at the open meeting of the Special Committee last Wednesday that "we (the Special Committee) are quite sure in our own minds from a number of other things, although they probably aren't statistics which would satisfy social scientists, of what we will find."

The statistics to which Committee Chairman Peterson referred will list for each student in last year's graduating class every department in which that student took more than four courses. Mr. Peterson "suspects" that he will find a low number of students who took more than four courses in various departments.

So?

Peterson: "In my personal mind, (a low number) will justify my feeling that too many students have been coming out of Middlebury in recent years with what I consider too narrow educations."

His personal mind. His feeling. What he considers too narrow. What he considers education. Will justify.

Speculating on facts? Brother....

It is probably unfair to nail down one member of the Committee. Yet as they all were at pains to admonish the audience, they only "spoke for themselves."

Still, no one rushed to contradict what Committee Chairman Peterson had to say...

So we must operate on the assumption that the members of the Committee who were present were of much the same mind as their spokesman. They formulated what may or may not be a sound educational proposal, at no little expense of time or Rockefeller Foundation and Braitmayer Foundation money, on feelings and "a number of other things," which are to this day, unspecified.

I submit that the soundness and advisability of the proposal as a curricular reformation or as an education philosophy may—indeed probably will—depend to a great extent upon the nature, importance and validity of the facts upon which it was based. Or those upon which it was NOT based.

I recall the words of Professor Hill at the Breadloaf Retreat, when he enjoined me from 'getting hung up on statistics.'

Hung up, nothin'! The Committee doesn't have a shred of presently visible evidence to support its chairman's "feelings," or its own. I know students who've flunked courses for less than that.

He's Not Sure

Turning to other scandals, perhaps some muck needs raking concerning last week's Community Council meeting.

Anyone who was there can tell you, in the words of Erica Wonnacott, what "a zoo" it was. 'Heated discussion' is, I think, the proper journalistic term for what occurred. Proctor Lounge full of folks, and angry folks at that, is bound to engender heated discussion.

In the heat of it all, there was an exchange between Ms. Caroline Donnan '75, and the inimitable Dean of the World, Dennis O'Brien.

The Dean had been making a point about the 'marginal toleration' the College had discovered existed on the part of the student body toward the fraternities.

Caroline rejoined, "Dean O'Brien, when you say 'the College,' you mean 'the College' as 'the Administration,' and I feel the College is made up of a lot more than just the Administration, and I think a lot more people have more than marginally tolerated them (fraternities)."

To which an embattled Dean Dennis replied, "Uh...I'm not so sure."

General hubbub ensued.

I think I do not stretch the context of Dean O'Brien's words when I question to which of Ms. Donnan's phrases he was replying. I have heard at least one student, who was sitting very close to the Dean, repeat the exchange as he heard it, omitting the "marginally tolerated" phrase.

I was certainly under the impression that the "I'm not so sure" referred to Caroline's first phrase about 'the College' as more than 'the Administration,' until I listened to the tape of the meeting.

Unfortunately for 'the Administration,' most people probably won't ever hear the tape.

The point I wish to make is that it is depressing, and maddening, that anyone should have to wonder what Dean O'Brien meant to be understood, or that anyone should have misunderstood him at all.

Were Middlebury really the community it could and should be, such misunderstandings would no doubt be less frequent than they are. Sadly, they seem to arise quite often.

When I was a sophomore, the issue was corporate responsibility. Should the College use its stock proxies to support Campaign GM against the Board of the General Motors Corporation? The Trustees of the College were either unreachable or intransigent, or both. No support was given by the College as a corporation, much to several students' dismay.

Again when I was a sophomore, the war in Indochina was the issue. Should the President of the College take a stand against the war as a college president?

Not in a hundred years, although he did venture a trip to Vermont's Congressional offices with four students and two faculty members to "express his concern."

As a junior, I recall two incidents. Joan Peters got bounced from the English Department on the vaguest of pretexts; and President Armstrong invited a Commencement speaker who hadn't even been mentioned by the graduating class when they were polled for their choices.

Joan is now in court with the College, charging sexual and political discrimination, and the Commencement speaker for 1974, Isaac Asimov, was elected by the Senior Class.

Well, at least the Commencement speaker selection process was reformed. Progress. Maybe the rusty machine can be made to work after all.

So this year, along comes the Fraternity Manifesto—Deans, dictum and all. Students get pissed off, Administration figures get hassled, Trustees are invisible, and we're back to square one.

All right, Erica Wonnacott and Dennis O'Brien admit they "made a goof" in the way the fraternity decision was made and presented. Now what?

Two things. Dean Wonnacott states that although the Trustees empowered the Administration to 'take over' the fraternities, it was the Administration's decision to go ahead and do it, and in the manner that they did (God forbid). She further admits that it is only the Administration which can change that decision.

Go ahead and try. Old Chapel has but two choices. They can decide that the decision is amendable, and proceed this year with open discussion of the fraternities. Emphasize **open** discussion. Or they can decide that the order is not rescindable, and take up cudgels while trying to negotiate the next move with the irate fraternities.

The other point is that all concerned may learn what the word "community" means. A community is based upon mutual respect. It is also based upon a certain degree of liberty and equality.

Little of any of the three seem to exist at this college now. Only substantive, visible effort—perhaps more by some than by others—will change that situation.

When it is changed, we will probably be sure what Dean O'Brien means when he says he isn't so sure.

sure.

Open letter on fraternities from the Dean of the College

Honest dialogue on controversial issues is, as everyone realizes, almost impossibly difficult. If one really desires to be honest it is not enough to speak "the blunt truth," it is also necessary to guess how the other person is hearing you.

This situation is well illustrated by the talk about fraternities. It is a "well-known-truth" that the Administration is out to get the fraternities, and that well-known-truth tends to inform all talk about fraternities no matter what the facts.

I have been tempted from time to time to set out the Administration's plan to save fraternities, to point out how the Administration has had a change of heart in its attitudes towards fraternities, how far attitudes have changed since the position of 1966 which would have taken all dining and living out of the houses — but I have never thought anyone would believe that the Administration wanted to save fraternities because of the well-known-truth that we were out to do them in.

It seemed to me over the summer (and it still seems so today) that honest discussion of the fraternity issue had to take place in terms of the belief about our negative attitudes toward fraternities, so that I have not tried to disguise the fact that College moves will alter **some** aspects of fraternity life which **some** people consider essential. However, consider the opposite hypothesis for the moment: that the College wants to save fraternities.

The Open Fraternity

What the College is proposing is to create open fraternities. We hope that current fraternity facilities can be utilized almost exactly as they are now used. Specifically, we hope that the residents will have direct responsibility for the management of the house and the kitchen.

Day-to-day management of all house affairs would be **identical** to current fraternity practices, in so far as the members of the house desired these arrangements to continue. What would be different?

— the College would be the landlord rather than the current fraternity corporation.

— affiliation to a house would be at the free choice of all students, rather than the selective choice of current house members.

After all the controversy about how the Administration came to issue its position statement this summer, after all the discussion about the role of Trustees in the general governance of the College, after all the claims that College wants to shove all students into dorms and make them eat at Proctor are put aside, what is the outcome of the College position? That **the current fraternity way-of-life will continue** as a way of life into which all Middlebury students can freely select. In short, the College intends to "save" fraternities as a way of life, but not to save them as selective societies.

"But, Mr. Dean, that is dishonest and too clever by a half. To say that the College wants to save fraternities. B.S.!" Yes, it does seem to me dishonest to say that the College wants to save fraternities. Suspicions, hostilities, symbolic differences have grown up over such a long period, that I think almost any action that the College would take in respect to fraternities would be regarded as hostile.

People really believe that fundamentally the College wants to destroy fraternities, and any action will be interpreted as proof of that hostile intent. Then, there is no use blinking at the fact that to formally do away with selectivity is a real change in the ethos of fraternities as we have known them.

Why "Open" Fraternities?

It seemed obvious to the Administration last year after the experience of the recent past, which saw three fraternities close for financial reasons, and the bitter complaints of the fraternity presidents about the financial squeeze placed on them by the College's policy of credit for room and board, that the next few years would probably see the collapse of at least two more houses.

In essence the position of the College on fraternities since the 1966 decision of the Board (contrary to the recommendation of a special Committee) to continue fraternities, has been wait and see what happens. If they survive they survive; it they go, they go.

Well, four have gone, and it seemed that two more would go. Should we sit aside and let them die one by one? That seemed, frankly, "undignified" — both for the College, and in the light of the value of fraternities over a long period to the College.

We judged, and I still believe that this judgment is valid, that the College was the only sure and ultimate financial support for the fraternities.

In April of last year we discussed with the fraternity presidents the possibility of the College acquiring the fraternity facilities and then continuing fraternities just as is in the manner of the old DTO fraternity which existed for many years in a building rented from the College. The fraternity presidents were suspicious, I would judge, of this suggestion and nothing came of it. As we considered that option further in the late spring, it seemed to us finally unacceptable.

If the College really took over fundamental support of the fraternities, then we felt that the principle of selectivity (which is still the principle if not the effective practice of the fraternities) was something the College could not support. We had turned down various groups, e.g. the Newman Club, who were interested in co-opting a dormitory, and we felt that we could not maintain a **selective** fraternity system.

Yet we did want to continue a fraternity system in the sense of providing real options in living and eating choices for students, and the high level of autonomy enjoyed by the current fraternities. The only road to College support of the fraternities seemed to be **open** fraternities, and this is what is being put forward at this time.

A Bear-Hug for Fraternities

"Sure! Sure! Words are cheap and the Dean's office is good at fancy arguments for lousy policies. Once the College is landlord they will move to wipe out all the last traces of fraternity way of life, and everything will be little Stewart and mini-Proctor at best."

So, that is what lots of people do believe and will believe. I know suspicions run too deep for argument, butmy recital of the facts is as honest as I can manage. We really hope that the houses can continue to maintain their current way of living; we really believe that without College support for all major maintenance, the fraternity houses will die off one by one. Without immediate support from somewhere ZP and SE aren't likely to make it for more than a few more years.

Finally, there was lots of talk at a high level of passion and principle at the Community Council meeting about the absentee landlordship of the Trustees. It appeared as if they had from their great height and distance delivered an unknowing edict upon the fraternities. That impression is one which I think I may have helped to foster.

In retrospect, I think that impression is too simple. I believe that what the Trustees did in their action last May was to say that the future status of fraternities was something to be determined by the College administration, in whatever manner they say fit, and by such processes as they saw fit to employ.

In order to devolve the authority of this matter to the Administration, they **authorized** the College to acquire the fraternity properties, they did not **direct** the Administration to do so. In honesty, however, we told the Trustees that with that authorization we would in all likelihood proceed in that manner.

In short, I believe that the Trustees were saying that the future of fraternities should be an on-campus decision.

Dennis O'Brien

Open letter on the Special Committee report

By NICHOLAS CLIFFORD

I came away from the Proctor Lounge discussion of September 26th on the report of the Committee on the College with the impression that many of the questions had been directed to two points.

The first is this: if we on the faculty should vote through the curricular recommendations, by what right do we seek to impose a required pattern of education upon students at Middlebury?

And the second: in what way would the proposed curriculum improve upon the pattern of studies which now exists?

The following reflections represent my thoughts on the subject, and are not an official committee position; I submit them for what they are worth.

The first question, it seems to me, grows out of an uneasiness that we have, in the Committee's recommendations, a reimposition of requirements, and the word itself, like the word 'parietals' is still enough to conjure up a vision of the Dark Ages which ended only a few years ago.

Today, anywhere from eleven to fifteen courses are required (counting the writing requirement); under the new system there will be from fifteen to twenty-two. At the same time, certain other requirements are dropped: the need to choose a major, and the limit of fourteen courses in a student's chosen field. It is of course quite possible that, despite the broad choice within which these required courses may be chosen, some students will have to take some courses they do not wish to take.

What right do we, as a faculty, have to insist that they do so? The answer is simple, and though it will be unsatisfactory to many, I know of no better. It is this: we on the faculty are professional educators, and for our failings (and they are many) we are, in the new proposal, trying to devise a theory of education which will define the experience at Middlebury in a way whch now simply does not exist.

We are not arrogating to ourselves the right to tell students what their best interests are. We have, however, because of our vocation, thought a great deal, for a good many years about what education means, and specifically about what kind of an education an insitution like Middlebury, with its strengths and weaknesses, might best provide, and it is on the basis of this professional competence that we make such judgments.

Obviously we cannot have everything precisely as we would like it; the college is limited by its finances, by its location, by the kind of physical posessions it has (dormitories, classroom buildings, and the like), and by the training, skills, enthusiasms and interests of both its faculty and students; these impose bounds on the kinds of choices which we make.

But within these limits, I believe that when it comes to defining the shape which education here should take, it should be the faculty, the professionals, who finally make that choice.

To the second question: in what way will the new proposals be an improvement over the present system? Some students and some on the faculty have suggested that the Committee has judged the present system to be a failure. That is not true; I, for one, am perfectly happy with the education we now provide (and I don't think other members of the Committee would disagree) but I think there are ways in which a good system could be made better.

Perhaps many of us now tend to stress too much questions of content in our courses, hoping that out of them the student will come to an understanding of the problems of our disciplines, and the ways in which practitioners of those disciplines deal with such problems.

Yet how many students, ten or twenty years after graduation, will remember much of the content of the courses which they took? What the student will remember, if her education has been fruitful, are the ways in which knowledge is dealt with. I don't mean primarily the methodology of a discipline; I mean later the raising of the kinds of questions which are important to an economist, to a philosopher, to a biologist or a musicologist, and the demonstration of how one might deal with them.

Certainly one can begin to understand such questions after one or two courses in a given subject; but I believe that the student will come to a clearer understanding of them if the problems are presented in a coherent way through a carefully devised sequence of courses such as we hope a concentration would be.

Education, we are told, should be designed to increase one's freedom. As a purely practical aspect of this, it may well be that it would be a mistake to pursue one's interests in college to the point where certain options, after college, become closed.

Take for example a student who, as a senior, becomes passionately interested in 19th century European history, and decides that she must, at all costs, go to graduate school to pursue a career of scholarship.

Let us say that she reads no language but English; by and large the good graduate schools will not be interested in her, nor is there any reason why they should accept a person thus untrained.

Had she been forced into the study of French or German by the existence of a rigorous language requirement, this would not be the case; she would have been made to acquire certain skills which would have opened to her precisely the career opportunity which she now wants, but which is now closed off (at least until she manages to prepare herself, somewhere else, at some expense, in these languages.)

A narrow conception of freedom of choice while in college has thus resulted in the loss of a freedom to enter the career of her choosing after college; the range of options has become limited.

Obviously there are some requirements which may thus enhance freedom in the long run. We—unfortunately, perhaps—have made no demands as

continued on p. 10

open letter...

continued from p. 9

rigorous as those of a language requirement in our new scheme. Yet by introducing a requirement, fuzzy and imperfect as it is, that the student train herself in two disparate fields of knowledge, we are suggesting that perhaps a student's definition of the subjects which interest her at the age of seventeen to twenty-two may not be final, and tht by this system we may be giving her the room for some manoeuvre, some more freedom, both in and out of her career, later in life, even while imposing a few more demands on her (and it is only a few) than are now made.

There are risks in this for all of us. There are risks for the faculty, in having in some cases to devise new courses, to change to one degree or another the courses they now teach.

There are staffing risks; will the new system mean in practice that 90% of the college goes into departments X and Y?

There are risks for the students; the choice of a major or a concentration will be for many a more serious undertaking than it is a present, and the possibility of a choice which later appears to be mistaken is by no means excluded; perhaps we might suggest that making the best of a bad job and finishing it up, is a process not devoid of educational value in itself.

Above all, perhaps, there is the risk that we are tampering with what seems to be a well functioning system at a time when the future of higher education is by no means as bright as it appeared to be ten years ago.

No one denies these risks, and everyone realizes that, like all change, these proposals will mean some disruption. Perhaps, after a decade of disillusion in many spheres, Americans are now not particularly willing to take risks; perhaps we all simply want to be left alone to get through life as best we can. This may be the national mood; I'm not sure that it ought to be the mood of institutions which claim to deal with questions of education.

Will the proposals pass? I certainly don't know. Speaking purely for myself, and not for the other members of the committee, I would not want to see them passed only by a narrow majority, in the face of substantial opposition from students or faculty.

If we are to begin a new program of this sort, we should begin with a willingness to make it work, and not simply to accept grudgingly what a small majority dictates. The proposals were not designed to be divisive; it will be interesting to see if the college community is ready for such a new venture. They are inspiring some serious debate, and I welcome the willingness of the **Campus**, to make itself available as a forum for this debate.

REVIEW : Rachmaninoff

Rachmaninoff: **Concerto for Piano and Orchestra No. 2**; Franck: **Symphonic Variations**. Alexis Weissenberg, piano. Herbert von Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic. Angel S-36905.

By JEFF WIEAND

It would be difficult to imagine the Rachmaninoff Centennial passing without some new recordings of the **Second Piano Concerto**. The concerto has always been the composer's most popular work, a popularity maintained by the nineteen recordings of it currently listed in the **Schwann**.

Since there are so many recordings (some of them quite good) there is certainly no need for another - "conventional" performance. Fortunately, Weissenberg and Karajan are anything but conventional, here or anywhere else.

Rachmaninoff's notoriety as being the dying gasp of romanticism is exemplified by this concerto. It is possible to perform the concerto like pouring syrup, but Weissenberg and Karajan move in a different direction: originality and intellectualization.

There may be those who believe that this is not exactly what the concerto needs (and I have some doubts about it myself) but even those listeners who don't **like** this performance will at least find it interesting.

Karajan is eccentric, but brilliant. Every decision that he makes is executed with such technical polish as to make it seem perfectly logical — the **only** way to play the notes. Karajan presents the concerto as a piece of **music**, and his success in this presentation is due in no small part to the disciplined instrument that he has fashioned out of the Berlin Philharmonic (today perhaps the greatest orchestra in the world).

Weissenberg's effort is equally original. He remains aloof, a perspective that has its advantages (insights) and disadvantages (indifference). The indifference is especially harmful in the last movement, where Weissenberg and Karajan seem to be fighting each other over what the movement is all about. Yet even here there is a freshness, a sense of a point of view being argued. If it were not for Weissenberg's slightly excessive restraint, I would be completely satisfied by this point of view.

Franck's **Symphonic Variations** is the composer's only competitive work in the symphonic repertoire, besides, of course, the d minor **Symphony**. Even those listeners who find the latter decidedly boring should be delighted with the **Variations**. Weissenberg and Karajan carry the thing through with much spirit. The Franck makes an inspired coupling with the more ambitious concerto.

The recorded sound is excellent throughout.

Review: Moonlight Sonata

By ROBERT POLIFKA

BEETHOVEN: Sonata in c-sharp minor, Op. 27, No. 2, "Moonlight;"
SCHUBERT: Four Impromptus, Op. 90, Nos. 2&4, Op. 142, Nos. 1&2. Vladimir Horowitz, piano. Columbia M 32342.

Vladimir Horowitz is a legend in his own time. His new recordings are few and far between, so the listener may be a bit disappointed that Horowitz, in one of his all-to-infrequent studio performances, recorded another "Moonlight" Sonata.

His monaural RCA recording of the sonata sounds just fine and is a beautiful performance. Why another? Since Horowitz records what and only what he wants, one can only guess. One thing is certain, though, Horowitz plays it differently than he did fifteen years ago.

Needless to say, Horowitz never gets carried away (at least not when he's playing "serious" music) and this recording is a model in sensitivity and subtlety, everything in moderation. Horowitz takes the first movement at a good clip, at least half again as fast as his earlier recording. The triplets are beautifully matched in texture and the bass fits into place without becoming too overwhelming.

The melody floats mid-air and seems to waft its way through the piece. There are no breaks on the musical line, even as the melody shifts register. What is so amazing is that one loses complete sense of just how brisk the pace actually is.

The allegretto is as graceful as could be. The echoing in the trio section resounds in its own melody. This movement, however, seems to lack breathing space between phrases and this tends to leave one on edge, despite the fact that it is well executed.

The final movement is the most similar to Horowitz's earlier recording, if it is slightly brisker and more restrained. "Very agitated" it is indeed.

In other words, this is a very fine, restrained, beautiful recording of the "Moonlight" Sonata. Really, its only rival is Horowitz's earlier recording, both being far ahead of the competition.

The rest of the album is devoted to four Impromptus by Franz Schubert. If one word were to sum up Schubert, it would be "lyrical." The pieces are played with lyricism unequalled. Horowitz has always been a master at milking a musical phrase "for all it's worth," and Schubert was a glorious melody writer.

The first piece (Op. 90, No. 4) seems searching for some resolution as its melody surges higher and higher, lapsing to moments of calm, and then surging again. The tonal and dynamic coloration are very delicate until the listener is suddenly overwhelmed by the climax, which is hair raising, in a serene sort of way.

The Impromptu in f minor, Op. 142, No. 1, has, by far, the greatest emotional impact. Its main theme seems to soar as, quoting Horowitz, "Schubert talks with the angels."

The third selection (Op. 142, No. 2) seems the most "vocal" of the four. Its melody is long, slow and, flows with great ease. Horowitz makes the piano sing with the color, warmth, and brilliance of the human voice.

The last Impromptu on the record (Op. 142, No. 1) is, technically, the most exciting of the four. The dynamic shadings of the ascending and descending chromatic scales would make any pianist green with envy. In the trio section, Horowitz firmly stresses the majestic waltzing melody.

These four Impromptus rate among the finest of Horowitz's recordings. His sense of elegance, his emotional fervor, his extraordinary technique and his open-hearted warmth fit Schubert's music perfectly. It seems paradoxical, but this music is unbelievably exciting, and at the same time is incredibly lyrical and joyous.

As for the Columbia release itself, it has reasonably good, but by no means outstanding, sound. There was an inordinate amount of surface noise on the copy reviewed.

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New faculty

By CHAR KOPLINKA

Two new English instructors have been added to the Middlebury College faculty this year.

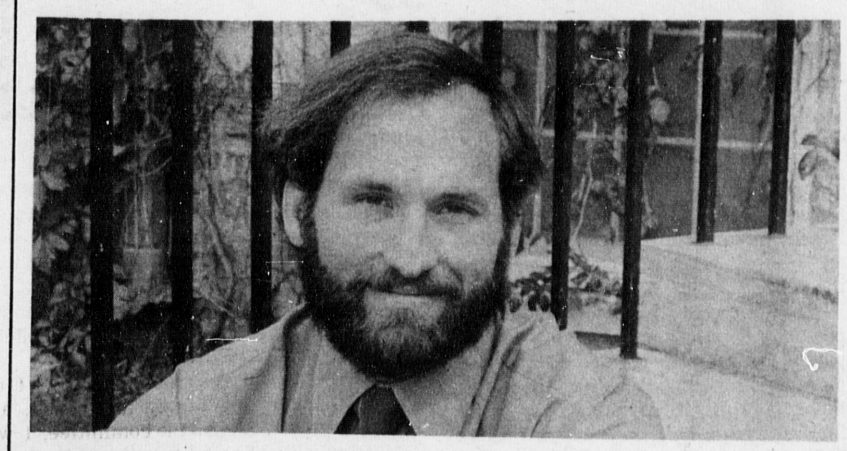
Ms. Barbara Crehan, from California, received her Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of California at Berkeley. She moved east to study at Columbia University, where she received her Master of Arts degree in English.

An English Renaissance scholar interested in both dramatic and non-dramatic literature, Ms. Crehan is currently writing her dissertation on Fletcherian Tragedy and Comedy.

Mr. John Elder, also a native Californian, received his B.A. from Pamona College. He was awarded the Watson Fellowship which permitted him to live in Africa for a year where he studied African Folklore.

He received his Masters at Yale and just completed his dissertation this summer. It consisted of three separate essays on D. H. Lawrence, William Faulkner, and Thomas Mann, and concerned the Body and Nature as seen through these authors.

Mr. Elder's special interests lie in the novel, American Literature and Comparative Literature. It was a special love for New England which drew him and his wife, Rita, to Middlebury. She is currently teaching music and music therapy at the Shannon Street School.



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By TOM PLUMB

Environmental Quality is sorry to announce that the speaker that was scheduled for October 5 had to postpone her appearance. Marion Edey, Chairperson for the League of Conservation Voters, must be in Washington, D.C. to lobby for the Campaign Financing Bill that comes before Congress October 2. She will speak on "David vs. Goliath" on January 17, instead.

EQ's next event will be a benefit film for the New England Coalition Against Nuclear Power. This organization is presently fighting the Vernon Nuclear Power Plant. The film will be "Sometimes a Great Notion" and will be shown October 12. Admission and times will be announced later.

Tony Roisman from Washington, D.C., the attorney for the NECAP, will speak on "The Last of the Red Hot Mamas" on October 25. He will describe NECAP's efforts to stop Vernon from operating.

The recycling program will begin this week. There will be an area on the ground floor of every dorm where newspapers, magazines, Foley's bags, and notebook paper can be put. This paper will be collected every Saturday. EQ urges everyone to keep the piles neat and to refrain from using them as trash piles.

Faculty, administrators, and staff are encouraged to put their newspapers from home in any of the dorms. These papers will then be bundled, collected, and taken to the High School for storage until the High School Environmental group can truck them to a junk dealer in Burlington. The High School keeps the profits.

There has been very little participation by the faculty, staff, and administration in student activities. EQ believes that informal situations such as EQ activities will lead to better understanding between all of these groups and encourages their participation in our activities.

If any member of the faculty, staff, or administration is interested in working with EQ please contact one of the officers listed in the Directory.

Last week EQ showed a benefit film for the Bristol Buyers Club. It is the feeling of the officers of EQ that the improvement of our human resources is just as important as the improvement of our natural resources.

We feel that the term "environmental quality" is all encompassing, and includes the desire and need to upgrade the lives of low income people. As a result, EQ chose to support this cooperative effort of the low income people of Addison County to beat the rising costs of food.

Porter needs volunteers

Porter Medical Center needs volunteers, both in the hospital and in the extended care service. Initial duties would include assisting the physical therapist, reading to patients, helping with meals, and delivering mail.

Volunteers will be trained as they work, and gradually moved up to more demanding areas of patient care. If interested, please contact Mrs. Sally Foley, 388-6620 or Kathy Conant, Dean of Students' Office, 388-7951.

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Student Forum suggests poll tax

By CURT VIEBRANZ

The Student Forum held its second meeting of the year on Sunday, September 23.

Much of the meeting was devoted to the organization of the various Student Forum Working Groups. Each Student Forum member is required to serve on one of these Working Groups throughout the year.

These Groups also provide the opportunity for non-Forum students to take part in College planning and governance. Notices of meeting times and places for these Working Groups are posted in the Student Forum bulletin board in Proctor Hall.

It was also reported that two students had been hired to sell the **New York Times** on campus, but that no student had been found to deliver the **Boston Globe**. Delivery of the **New York Times** is scheduled to begin on Oct. 1.

Nat Forbes submitted a proposal concerning the Middlebury Poll Tax which was levied on all Middlebury students who were attending school last April 1.

The proposal was to "ask the Town Clerk of Middlebury, or his authorized representatives, to be present at Spring Term Registration in 1974 for the purpose of determining which students wich to consider themselves residents of the town of Middlebury, and which do not."

He hoped this would alleviate much of the confusion and misunderstanding which occurred this year. The proposal was adopted unanimously.

Lastly, Rick Eldriege delivered the report of the first meeting of the Educational Council. An account of the report is given elsewhere in this issue.

Meetings of the Student Forum are held every Sunday at 7:00 p.m. in Munroe Faculty Lounge.

WRMC waves

WRMC-FM, the Panther Sports Network, is broadcasting Panther football every Saturday this Fall.

Nick Bogert, Flash Freundlich, and Chris Jacoby will bring you complete play-by-play coverage of home and away games, as well as pre-game interviews with coaches and players.

Be sure to listen to 91.7 every Saturday for all the action of Panther football on the Panther Sports Network.

WRMC-FM Special Programs, Week of October 7th

Sunday, October 7th:

4:00-4:30 **Situation '73** — A review of major events in the week's news.

9:30-10:00 **Jazz Revisited** — "1933: A Vintage Year" Guest Eugene Kramer chooses recordings from a landmark year.

10:00-10:30 **Washington Window** — The UPI Audio Network's weekly news-interview program.

10:30-11:00 **The Course of Our Times** — "Woodrow Wilson and the Treaties"

Monday, October 8th:

7:30-8:00 **The Spanish Show**

8:00-9:00 **The Thursday Series Broadcast**

Tuesday, October 9th:

7:30-8:00 **The German Show**

8:00-9:00 **Focus on Women** — "Black Women's World" Alternating Tuesday nights with the Women's Action Coalition, "Black Women's World" will deal with what is pertinent to the Black women on the Middlebury campus. This week's show will feature Wanda Patterson and Terry Schjang.

Wednesday, October 10th:

7:30 Broadcast of Community Council Meeting of September 28 on the subject of fraternities

Thursday, October 11th:

7:30-8:00 **The French Show**

8:00-9:00 **Firing Line**, with William F. Buckley, Jr.

WRMC is trying to revive the great lost art of radio drama. There has been, in recent years, a great dearth of any sort of this performance. The shows are tentatively scheduled for airing in spring term, so this extra time will allow consideration for any and all suggestions as to the direction this project whould take.

There will be a meeting on Tuesday, October 9, at 7:00 in Proctor Lounge.

Bristol summer camp benefit

On Monday, October 8, "Anne of the Thousand Days" will be presented to benefit the Bristol Summer Program.

The Bristol Summer Program is a free day camp for children in the Bristol area between the ages of 10 and 14. The total number of campers is twenty-five.

Camp hours are from 9-3, five days a week for six weeks. The camp is run by six college students. Activities include overnights, hikes, carpentry, sports, and crafts. The Mt. Abraham High School pool is used for swimming lessons.

The summer program is a way of offering active and unique days to kids who might otherwise find themselves isolated from other children during the summer months.

This benefit film is one of four that will hopefully provide a large part of the necessary funds to run the camp. Please help these kids have a summer they'll never forget.

THE FACTS OF LIFE

Human Sexuality

In this regular column, Dr. Alan Medoff, Professor of Human Sexuality and Director of Student Health Services at Fairleigh Dickenson University, will respond to questions from Middlebury Students pertaining to any facet of sexuality.

Questions should be addressed to : Student Sex Information Service (SSIS), Box C-2164. Inquiries may be anonymous. Allow about two weeks for response.

By ALAN MEDOFF, M.D.

1. How common is masturbation among college students?

Probably very frequent. There are no statistics available to answer this specific question and the closest we come to the answer is from Kinsey and his exhaustive analysis of masturbation thirty years ago. According to his figures, boys between the ages of 18 and 25 report an incidence of approximately 90 per cent. This does not mean 90 per cent of students are masturbating at all times, but does indicate that the practice is very widespread.

If the male is experiencing sufficient and satisfactory sexual outlets (intercourse, heavy petting to orgasm, and nocturnal emissions), then the need for masturbation is minimal. If, on the other hand, there are insufficient or unsatisfactory outlets, then masturbation is more frequently encountered.

More than the actual incidence is our feeling that masturbation, both in males and females, is a part of normal sexual behavior. Only when it becomes the focus of interest and is practiced as a means of resolving emotional problems can it be considered in a different light. Even then the masturbatory activity itself is not abnormal but the underlying cause of the emotional problem should be sought and corrected.

2. Is the rhythm method of birth control effective and reliable?

Properly practiced in a female with regular periods, it is at best 75 to 80 percent effective as a means of preventing pregnancy. The problem is that regular menses are few and very few women have really inclined to take their basal daily temperatures in order to pinpoint the time of ovulation. Usually the process is haphazardly followed and errors in judgement as to the time of ovulation abound.

In addition to these problems one must abstain from intercourse during the so-called danger period of about seven to ten days. This puts an added burden of strain on the sexual relationship. For those who can resolve the religious problems there are obviously much more scientifically based methods of contraception which are superior to the rhythm method.

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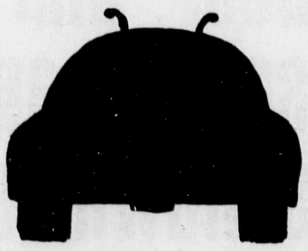

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Sporting notes

Anyone interested in learning the sport of lacrosse has a good opportunity this fall, as the fall lacrosse club is in full swing. Scrimmages are held every Tuesday and Thursday at 4:00. Equipment can be obtained from coach Pfeiffer on weekday mornings. Games are tentatively scheduled against Dartmouth, RPI, and Union.

Rugby is also going full throttle, hoping to avenge an earlier 6-0 loss to UVM in a rematch October 27th.

Last week the fall intramural program began with record numbers participating in three activities: touch footbal, individual singles tennis, and individual golf. There are sixteen touch football teams this year (4 more than last year), divided into two divisions of round robin play. The top four teams of each division will be eligible for the playoffs on Oct. 24, 25, 26, and the finals will be on Oct. 29.

Last year's winners, D.U., should again be strong, but they will have to eliminate more competition than ever before to repeat as champions. On opening day, Chi Psi vanquished a talented Voter Independent team 27-6 while D.U. II massacred Allen 72-6. Sig Ep also gained a win over an independent team.

The tennis tournament is single elimination for the overall college champion. It is co-ed, and four girls have entered. A total of 37 (up from 27 last year) should give last year's champion, Tim Metzger, more than adequate competition.

Twenty golfers have entered the Individual Golf championship, up from only nine entries last year. It is medal play, and the best single round wins. Last year's champion, Hugh Barber, has graduated, so it's anybody's guess as to who will take over the top spot.

Crowds Cheer Panthers to Victory Over Dartmouth

By PETER SEITEL

Enthusiastic crowds, great coaches, and skilled players spell victory for just about any sport team. The Panther soccer squad proved to be no exception, as it routed Dartmouth 3-0 at Hanover, Saturday afternoon. Two scores by Brian Lewis in the first half, followed by Charley Jackson's goal in the second, provided Dave Kynoski with his second shutout of the season.

The Midd squad took Dartmouth by surprise with only 2:35 gone in the game. Brian Lewis netted his first from 30 feet, after a Darmouth fullback attempted to clear the ball from the scoring area. From then on, the game was dominated by the Midd squad who appeared better skilled offensively and much stronger defensively.

Lewis scored his second at the 19:30 mark in the first half, after which Dartmouth rarely penetrated enough to pose a serious threat.

The mood of the game changed though during the second half. Dartmouth, unused to coming from behind, tried unsuccessfully to play catch-up ball. Long kicks and numerous fouls were the result of Dartmouth's desperation.

The Panthers were able to adjust, playing great defensive ball, while still keeping pressure on the Dartmouth fullbacks. With 29:48 gone in the second half, Charley Jackson deflected the ball off a Dartmouth defenseman to score his third of the season, and the last Midd goal of the game. The Pathers breezed through the remaining minutes with the game now well out of Dartmouth's reach.

The most fascinating aspect of the game was the ease with which Middlebury controlled and moved the ball. From the fullbacks to the linemen, the Panthers were strong defensively, and quick to make the transition back to the offensive.

Dave Pentkowski and Kevin Hundley seemed to be everywhere and anywhere afullback should have been or might want to be, stealing the ball from frustrated Dartmouth linemen before they had a chance to set up their attack. In the goal, Dave Kynoski had to make only 12 saves, but he was kept busy setting up the backfield.

The halfbacks and linemen also played exceptional soccer. The game plan called for getting the ball to the outside where the wings would bring it to the scoring area. Both Peter Colton and Eric Shapiro showed amazing talent at their respective wing positions. Once the ball was outside, they would pull Dartmouth's fullbacks out of position, and execute accurate centers to the waiting linemen.

The halfbacks and front line, led by the foot of Brian Lewis, showered Dartmouth with over 20 shots on goal.

But there were two other elements, not really self-evident, involved in this victory. The Middlebury fans were of these elements. They turned out by the carload to back their team with an enthusiasm so often missed at away games. The other part comes from dedicated coaches. The Midd squad is aided both in practice and on the game field by a truly professional coaching staff, headed by Coach Thomas Lawson, and assisted by Coaches Gary Hindley and Robert Greene.

Putting all these things together is difficult for any team. But the Panther soccer squad has the talent, the crowds behind them, and a great coaching staff. They put it together against Dartmouth and it should all be there again on October 3, when they face Williams College. It's always dangerous to predict too far ahead, but it seems reasonable to believe--this just could be the year.

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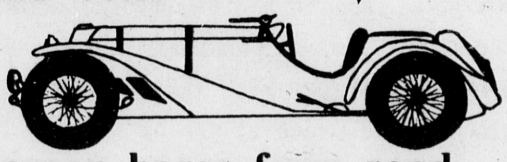
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THE DOG TEAM

Mackey Kicks Panthers Into Last Minute Victory

By TOM RYAN

Wesleyan's Bill Macdermott stood halfway across the Andrus Field gridiron staring vacantly at the stadium clock. He looked like an SSIS coed who had just discovered she was pregnant. Only a minute before, having ended Middlebury's nine game victory dance, he had smilingly been on his way to the locker room when he stopped disbelievingly to take a second look.

Slowly and quietly, he started talking to the supposedly impartial scoreboard clock. "For an hour we outplayed them. At the end of the hour, we had them tied 14-14. And the game only lasts an hour, sixty minutes, right? So how did the score get to be 17-14, their favor?"

On the other side of the field, Panther Coach Mickey Heinecken was having impressions made of Peter Mackey's foot for a memorial bronze molding.

Macdermott's Cards came into the game with the same offense that last year piled up a record 1,980 yards, and with a defense that lask week held the nation's fifth leading offense to 200 yards. The defense held to form as Jim Farrell and Scott Lagner continually harrassed Mackey and his backfield, holding the Panther's attack unit to 14 in the first half and scoreless, but for the amazing finale, in the second.

Offensively, the Cards could have been devastating if they had only remembered to hold onto the ball when they started looking for the endzone. As it was, they nonetheless played an even game, and it appeared that the final buzzer would be a midnight toll for the Middlebury Cinderella whose nine game Ball, begun by Fairy Godfather John Anderson, was over.

However, after two fine Mackey passes brought Midd in a desperate rush to the Red and Black twenty-nine, and after Macdermott with stepsisterly glee began his stroll to the locker room, the final dong in unfairytale-like form turned Wesleyan, and not Middlebury, into the pumpkin.

A pass interference plopped the ball on the eighteen from which, with a confusing 0:00 showing on the clock, glass slippered Mackey booted it 35 yards through the uprights to give the game a 17-14 ending, which Walt Disney or any other fantastical raconteur would have been hard put to out "happily ever after."

On second thought, maybe that improbable finale could have come only from Disney. How can a place kicker who the previous week missed three PAT's, suddenly do the trick from twenty yards further out? All I can think of is that wacked-out flick, "Son of Flubber," in which the Absent-Minded Professor inflates his home team's losing ball with his bouncy discovery. Or then again, maybe rookie coach Mickey Heinecken with his Wing-T is simply another fairy godfather in Midd's continuing magic.

Whichever is the case, the win over Wesleyan definitely came out of a story book, and it is going to take a stronger spell to keep going through the onrushing realities of WPI and Williams. The potential is there, but in that tendency toward the sixty-first minute victory, so is the pumpkin.

Democrats contribute $500

By RICK RIDDER and JILL ROBINSON

Roy Newton, Addison County Democratic Party Chairman, spoke to Campus reporters last week concerning the recent Democratic National Telethon.

Newton announced that sixty to seventy contributions were received from Addison Democrats to make a total of $500. The contributions ranged from one dollar to fifty dollars.

Newton said that county Democrats gathered at the Middlebury Inn for the fund-raising function. They viewed the nationally-broadcast Telethon, and collected pledges from party faithfuls throughout the county. Later they phoned in the pledges in a group to Burlington.

There were a few students in attendance, Newton said.

Vermont state Democrats contributed eleven thousand dollars out of five million dollars given nationwide. 25% of the contributions will stay in the county, and 25% will go to the state Democratic Committee. The remaining 50% will go to the Democratic National Committee.

Addison County Democrats exceeded Newton's expectations in their contributions. He noted that county Democratic enrollment is "on the upswing," and that there are now seven to eight hundred Democrats in Middlebury alone.

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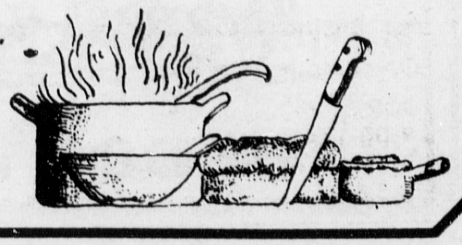

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continued from p. 1

resulted in several departments, especially in view of the proposed faculty freeze. Mr. Hill agreed that there could be problems. No one knew exactly what would take place in the event of a crush. Mr. Peterson said he had "no objection" to one student's suggestion that the program not be passed until a solution for such a crush were found, but he doubted that it "could be made binding on the Administration".

One student asked how prospective freshman applying for the fall of 1974 were going to be informed of the change in the curriculum. Mr. Clifford answered that if the proposal is passed, admissions material will be updated, and that letters would be sent to applicants explaining the change. He said that the Admissions office does not think that most students choose a college on the basis of curricular requirements. He added that Admissions "tried out the idea" of the new curriculum on some prospective freshmen. Although some of them did not agree with it when they read it, they liked it better when it was discussed with them.

Some students suggested alternatives to the proposal. One suggestion was that everyone be given a choice between the new program or the present one. Another was to have a required interdepartmental freshman course in "modes of thought". One student put forth the possibility of structuring the whole freshman year around some kind of "core" curriculum, similar to that of Columbia University.

There was also a suggestion to develop a Pre-Medical studies concentration if the proposal is passed, so that students planning to enter medical school would have more electives than would be the case if the plan is implemented as it stands now.

Many students were antagonistic to the program, and were disturbed that they had no real say in determining its future. Last year's seniors had an opportunity to voice their opinions on the program. But when Mr. Peterson was asked about the consensus of their opinion, he answered, "I just can't remember, frankly."

A show of hands found that the majority of the students at the meeting opposed the program.

Students also asked the panel whether their opinions of the new curriculum had been changed by criticism and apparent lack of student support. Were they still convinced that the proposal was workable, one student wondered. Mr. Hill answered yes, that perhaps the program will not turn out just as it is now, but that he will fight for the principle behind it. Mr. Clifford said that he is now more aware of the difficulties in getting the program through, but he is convinced that its philosophy is a good one. Mr. Peterson said that he liked Mr. Clifford's answer.

The Committee plans to put this new program into effect next fall, if it is ratified by a faculty vote, which is tentatively set for early November. Although students may not vote on the proposal, they are welcome to express their opinions at future discussions, or submit their ideas in writing through the Student Forum, which is now considering this problem.

Also, on the recommendation of twenty-five or more faculty members, amendments will be added to the proposal.

Even if the plan is passed, no student now at Middlebury will have to abide by it.

There will be three more open meetings to discuss it. These will take place on the next three Wednesdays at 6:30 P.M. in Hamlin SDU.

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Kirkpatrick Sale ...

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field marshalls of the White House came out of that milieu: Roy Ash, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget who presided over some of the more dramatic examples of defense cost-plus contracts in his "civilian" career; and Bob Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, who need no introduction. Kissinger, the only exception, presents a polished and scholarly front to the outside world.

Since his time of troubles, Nixon has broadened the base by replacing Haldeman and Ehrlichman with Kissinger's protege Alexander Haig, and Melvin Laird, an all-around good guy with Congress and the Pentagon, but reports indicate Nixon has trouble getting on with them.

Four out of five of his nominees to the Supreme Court have represented this region, and occasionally the lower courts come into view.

In 1968, for example, a Nixon appointed judge sitting in Florida acquitted Rebozo in a rather clear-cut case involving stolen stocks belonging to organized crime sources sold through his bank. The case is still in litigation, on appeal by the government.

As of May, 1973, five of Nixon's cabinet posts were filled by Southern Rimsters. From George Bush, with connections to Texas oil money on down, the Republican National Committee top staff has been done over.

And finally there are the bland young men of the White House staff who became so important during the committee-hearings stage of the Watergate coverup– Colson, Strachan, Segretti, Chapin, and the political operatives recruited through the fraternity network at USC, an important institution in the social and cultural network of the Southern Rim.

A further tendril of this web leads from the White House through such CIA operatives as James McCord and Bernard Baker to the Miami-based Cuban community, a link which deserves further discussion because it is a symptom of a continuity in government that transcends Sale's rigid regionalism.

Rimsters Outside Government

Equally significant are Nixon's close friends and advisors outside of the government — those privy to the presidential ear, the recipients of executive favors. Sale names as the most important among these Bebe Rebozo, John Connally, Murry Chotiner, and Herbert Kalmbach. He maintains that each of these men are:

> guilty of improprieties in business, a certain disregard for public trust, a general lack of ethical sophistication, or in some cases direct association with criminal figures. ("The World Behind Watergate", Kirkpatrick Sale, **New York Review of Books**, May 3, 1973, p. 11.)

The result of these associations and others has been a series of executive favors to agribusiness, defense contractors, and oil interests in the South which are staggering.

Nixon's transparent dealings with dairy interests need no repeating since they were clearly exposed in the establishment press. The contacts were through Kalmbach.

Researchers are still stymied as to whether there is or is not an actual energy crisis because oil companies are reluctant to reveal the amount of their reserves. But the recent Nixon offensive on pollution control laws, together with the immense pressure leveled on Congress by the corporations and the administration to pass the Alaska Pipeline, and the corporations' own attempts to knock out the independents, add up to a calculated program to strengthen Southern oil interests.

Privileged information on the Soviet wheat deal enabled Southern agribusinesses to make a killing, but almost killed off smaller competition.

According to Sale, this nexus of associations between big business and the executive adds up to a "second government,"

> (that) is a combination of vast and complicated interlocking forces, pulling in the CIA here and organized crime there, using politicians one time and emigré thugs the next, which seems to regard the government as a tool for financial enrichment, and is to a large extent financed by and working to the benefit of newer exploitative businesses, chiefly in the Southern Rim. (**NYRB**, ibid., p. 14.)

Before going on to a discussion of how this "second government" views the "legitimate" government, it should be pointed out that so far, Sale has gotten all of his information from materials within the public domain. It is possible to track through trial records and Senate investigation reports the activities of many Nixon associates since the beginning of his career in politics.

Aggressive investigative reporters from papers like the **Washington Post, New York Times,** and **Los Angeles Times** have done a huge job following up connections, given an administration in which backstabbing through leaks is common.

Ace **Times** man Seymour Hersh has allegedly threatened to resign over a number of coverups perpetrated by the **Times**, but exposés usually make it into the papers in one form or another, if only for the scoop. The days when the **Times** would follow up on a government request not to divulge the imminent Bay of Pigs Invasion are past, one hopes.

In areas where the established media treads softly, if at all, underground newspapers have done good work, although the only thanks the San Diego **Street Journal** has received for its investigation of the Smith-Nixon-Alessio connection has been to have its reporters terrorized by snipings and firebombings.

When police finally caught the perpetrators, a radical right-wing organization named the Secret Army Organization was exposed, which was found to have been in contact with Donald Segretti. Guilt by association? Perhaps, but five years of contrived conspiracy trials against the Left, and the extent of recent revelations of political espionage against the Democratic Party should sensitize us against overskepticism when links are drawn between Washington and the shadowy world of extremist politics in America.

Finally, in this vein, it seems to me that even an "objective" observer would have to say that the Senate Select Committee on Campaign Activities has failed to produce any reliable information.

Whether this is due to a lack of aggressive questioning, an underutilization of its legal powers to force testimony, the impossibility of detecting perjury among the "tangled web we weave," or a deliberate attempt to go only far enough to embarass the Administration and reassure the public that "the system works," or likelier, all of these reasons, the Committee is rushing its hearings to a close with what Nixon would call a pretty poor track record. We can expect no fourth-quarter miracles.

As Sale describes them, the new economic sovereigns of the Southern Rim are distinguished from their counterparts in the Northeast by a not unusual set of characteristics that could have described the founders of the old establishment more than a century ago.

They are by and large politically conservative. Sale uses the word "retrograde." They are anti-union, anti-black, anti-consumer, anti-regulation, and avidly anti-communist. The "cowboys" are self-made men, like Nixon himself. They are truly engaged in self-aggrandizement to the exclusion of anything else. On the economic frontier they are a law unto themselves.

Marx wrote:

> The division of labor . . . manifests itself also in the ruling class . . . so that within this class one part appears as the thinkers of the class (its active conceptualizing ideologists, who make it their chief source of livelihood to develop and perfect the illusions of the class about itself), while the others . . . are in reality the active members of this class and have less time to make up ideas and illusions about themselves. This cleavage within the ruling class may even develop into a certain opposition and hostility between the two parts; but in the event of a practical collision in which the class itself is endangered, it disappears.

This passage expresses the crucial difference between the behavior of new money and established wealth vis-a-vis legitimate government and law; the "cowboys" have yet to create ideological illusions about themselves.

To understand the roots of their actions, it is not necessary to analyse carefully how they use theory to buttress practice. They have no Wilson, no New Deal Brain Trust, no Ford Foundation, no Council on Foreign Relations, no Harvard University.

Nixon's own speeches and those of his supporters are usually nothing more than a connected series of emotionally charged symbols for racism, patriotism, nationalism, the work ethic, free enterprise vs. socialism, order vs. criminality, and stability vs. the manufactured threat of violent revolution.

One need only recall the painful intellectual and ideological naivete demonstrated by Jeb McGruder as he stumbled through his lesson before the Watergate Committee, reduced finally to pointing his finger at William Sloan Coffin as the unknowing temptor of criminality.

No, the new money has not concerned itself with the niceties of morality and consistancy. It is enough to keep the bland, polished corporate face in the public eye. But then the old establishment was new money once itself; it is just that we are not used to such corruption so close to home.

It is more than a hundred years since the respectable Pierpont Morgan financed a scheme to buy from the government — at a reduced price, and then resell to the Union Army at a vastly inflated price — defective carbines, which would blow off the thumbs of the soldiers who fired them. Today corporations can sell to the government for vast sums weapons that are never even built.

Continuous Strategy

In 1954 James McCord was working for the CIA in Guatemala, on a successful coup that overthrew the legitimately-elected government of President Jacobo Arbenz.

During the previous spring the Arbenz government had expropriated, with compensation, 234,000 acres of uncultivated land belonging to the United Fruit Company of Guatemala.

It was one of those ironies of history that at the time of the coup, the U.S. Secretary of State was a stockholder and corporate counsel for the company, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs was a large stockholder, and the Director of the CIA was an ex-president of the company. (**The Free World Colossus**, David Horowitz, New York, 1965, pp. 168-169.)

1973 found James McCord in court for breaking and entering at the offices of the Democratic National Committee.

What Sale's theory does not account for is the continuity of policies and personnel in American politics that is as much a part of the complete Watergate story as the change in the nature of the American ruling class that Sale details.

There has always been a division of labor within the American ruling class, so that while the Rockefellers were designing their Alliance for Progress, the Dulles brothers were down in the dirt making the world safe for the Alliance for Progress.

In 1968 the SDS made Bring the War Home one of their slogans, and it has come home in a way only the Left was able to anticipate.

For three decades the nation has closed its eyes to the institutionalization of anti-democratic policies abroad in the form of public and quasi-public agencies for the repression of popular leftist movements and governments which threaten the economic and strategic interests of the United States.

During the sixties unconstitutional practices employed in foreign espionage began to be used against the Left in America. These practices included the use of informers, agents-provocateur, wiretapping, burglarizing, and catch-all conspiracy and riot-control laws. The logical development of this process is that such methods should be used against the loyal opposition.

It is arguable then that the Watergate affair represents the outgrowth of tendencies inherent in the organization and ethos of corporate capitalism and imperialism, in the twin sense that they stimulate opposition at home, and create the means and attitudes for dealing with that opposition in an anti-democratic manner.

That the men around Nixon are more willing to dispense with the traditions of elective politics in the United States than were the men employed by Kennedy and Johnson, that they can claim with truth that their ways are not new to American politics — these points should serve as a warning that the selling of the Watergate affair to the American public as the work of a small group of zealots with no moral scuples will in no way prepare us for what is to come or for ways to overcome it.

If I might steal a page from Kirkpatrick Sale's book, the filth in which Nixon and his cohorts wallow has yet to come to the attention of the mass public. What will happen, when, or as pessimists like me say, if it does, will be worth waiting for.

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